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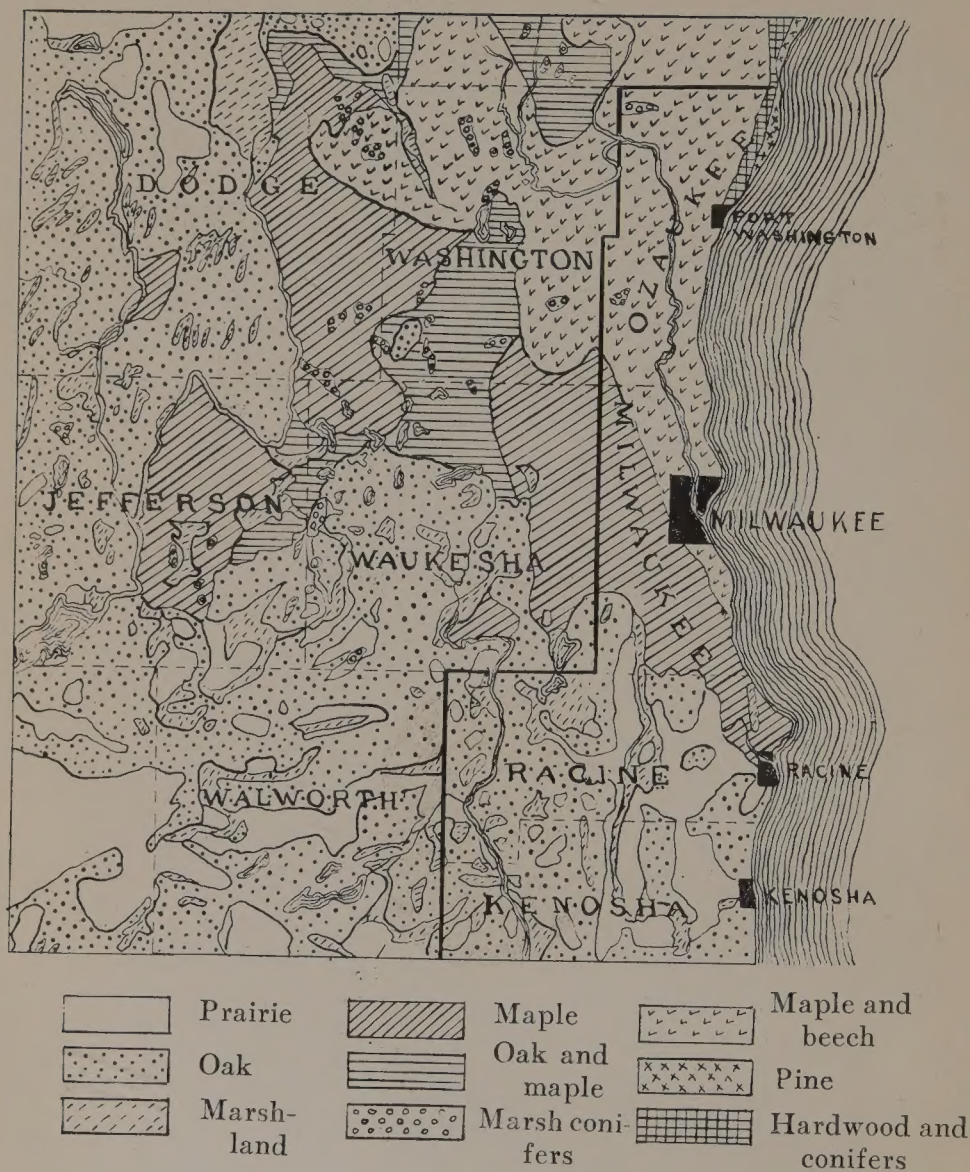
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PUBLICATIONS OF
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY
JOSEPH SCHAFER
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SOCIETY

FOUR WISCONSIN COUNTIES



MAP OF NATIVE VEGETATION, SOUTHEASTERN WISCONSIN

Copied from T. C. Chamberlin's Report on Geology of Wisconsin, 1873.
The heavy bar sets off the four lake-shore counties treated in this volume.

WISCONSIN DOMESDAY BOOK

GENERAL STUDIES VOLUME II

Four Wisconsin Counties

PRAIRIE AND FOREST

BY

JOSEPH SCHAFER



PUBLISHED BY THE
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PREFACE

The volume here presented represents a modification of the *Domesday Book Town Studies* plan. The experimental volume under that title (*Town Studies I*) carried as its leading feature the plats of "Farms and Farmers of 1860," together with short, formal accounts of the several towns studied, and a statistical appendix. The introduction, containing general historical facts and observations resulting from the intensive study of the local areas called towns, was comparatively brief. The atlas format of that book was determined by the dimensions which it was found necessary to give the plats; but it made a volume which was inconvenient to read so far as the text was concerned.

The twenty-three towns treated in the first volume of *Town Studies* were widely scattered through the southern counties of the state. The thirty-one towns enclosed within the boundaries of the four counties treated herein are contiguous. In effect, we are dealing in the present volume with a region, or, to be exact, two regions in which characteristic phases of state history had their beginnings and their logical development. Into the southern pair of counties, Kenosha and Racine, where the land was invitingly open to settlement either in the form of "oak openings" or of prairie, pressed the early-coming immigrants from New York, New England, and subsidiary portions of Yankeeland, with some others both native and foreign. Bringing with them some money and farming equipment, or the credit requisite to supply these as well as to purchase government lands, they entered at once upon a comparatively large scale production of wheat and quickly made valuable farms. Into the heavily forested region of Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties filtered the somewhat

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later-coming Germans, with other foreigners and Americans who coveted a lake-shore farming opportunity. A large proportion of these were devoid of funds, depending on their personal labor force to make a living and gradually to improve the small tracts of woodland upon which they settled. The process of making farms there, our researches revealed, was the labor of a generation.

In the facts that the two districts of the area were originally occupied by settlers of different origins and unequal circumstances, and that their agricultural history accentuated the usual contrast between an open land economy and a forest land economy, we have the key to the general history of the four counties. So deep-running was the influence of the originally contrasted covering of the land, that it was thought proper to use the descriptive phrase "Prairie and Forest" as a subtitle of the book.

Inasmuch as the material published in this volume constitutes the more general results of our intensive study of the region—results corresponding to the data printed in the introduction to *Town Studies I*, though much greater in bulk—it was deemed best to print it as a separate volume in the usual format, reserving the plats and formal treatments of individual towns for possible future publication in atlas format. The character of the material in this volume determines its classification as one of the *General Studies*, of which my *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin* was the first in the *Domesday Book* series.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance rendered me in the production of this book by Doctor Louise Phelps Kellogg, senior research associate of this Society, who read the manuscript and made many helpful sugges-

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tions; by Mabel Marks, research assistant, to whom I am indebted for much aid in the detailed inquiries whose results the book summarizes; and especially by Edna Louise Jacobson, assistant editor, whose painstaking accuracy and unremitting vigilance at every stage of the work are to be thanked for much of the usefulness it may possess. The help of these colleagues does not, however, absolve me from responsibility for such blemishes as the book may show.

I am also under obligation to William Horlick, Jr., curator of the Society, for facilitating my personal inspection of the rural areas of Racine and Kenosha counties; and to J. H. A. Lacher, curator and vice-president of the Society, for a similar service in connection with my visit to Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties. State Superintendent of Public Instruction John F. Callahan, together with the county superintendents of Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, and Ozaukee counties, aided in promulgating, and the teachers of these counties through praiseworthy cooperation carried out a plan for a social census by schools. Individual teachers helped, further, by making definite social studies of rural towns. I appreciate the generous assistance of all these, as well as that given, in unstinted measure, by the pupils of many schools and by their patient elders at home.

Finally, I desire to acknowledge the far-sighted generosity of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society in setting aside the income of the George B. Burrows Fund for prosecuting the *Domesday Book* work.

JOSEPH SCHAFER

MADISON, OCTOBER, 1926.

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FOUR WISCONSIN COUNTIES

PRAIRIE AND FOREST

CHAPTER I

THE TERRAIN

THE four counties discussed in the present volume lie along Lake Michigan from the Illinois boundary north. The extreme distance from the south boundary of Kenosha County to the north boundary of Ozaukee County is seventy-two miles, or the length of twelve surveyor's townships. Ozaukee and Milwaukee counties each stretch north and south over four townships, while Racine and Kenosha have a combined breadth of four townships. The northern counties are narrow from east to west, averaging less than two townships or twelve miles, while the southern counties are narrow from north to south, but run west from the lake four and a fraction townships or about twenty-five miles on the average.

The controlling feature of the topography is Lake Michigan, occupying a great north and south trending depression which varies in depth from a surface elevation of 580 feet above sea-level to about 300 feet below sea-level. The enormous depth of the depression, the character of the rock strata eroded away in the sculpturing process, and the geographical relation of the lake bed to Green Bay and to the Mississippi River trench, are evidences that the lake was produced mainly by glacial erosion. And since the glacial movements which created the lake bed were also the most important factors in giving the adjacent lands their present characters, the story of the glaciation of this region is the best means of understanding the terrain.

The geologist has found rock records to convince him that the south-moving glacier which covered all of eastern Wisconsin was divided into two great lobes (with other secondary lobes), the one forcing its way south along the course of a pre-glacial river which finally became Lake Michigan, the other trending southwest, forming the much smaller and shallower Green Bay and gradually spreading over the interior lowland from the edge of the driftless area on the west to and beyond the Niagara escarpment on the east. In what is called the Niagara or eastern upland (because it is all underlaid by the Niagara limestone), the two once separated lobes met, the ice sheet from Lake Michigan pushing southwest, west, or even northwest, the Green Bay lobe southeast, east, and northeast.

This glacial movement was repeated several times at widely separated intervals of time, and there are supposed to have been interglacial periods during which the ordinary weathering and erosion forces, especially water, were very active in modifying the land forms. Also, during such interglacial periods vegetation developed, as is proved by the existence farther north of an ancient forest, buried under the later glacial drifts.

The effects produced by the glacier were numerous. In the first place, it is supposed to have planed down the underlying rock formation (Niagara limestone) over most of the area from 100 to 200 feet. This process removed all of the soil which mantled the surface, cut away the rock below the plane in which caves appear, and polished or grooved (striated) the bedrock in ways which can still be seen. It established the basis for a generally level or slightly sloping land surface. Much of the rock which the glacier displaced was

ground to powder, thus preparing new soil; the mantle of weathered rock or soil was partly carried southward and spread over the Illinois prairies, partly dropped by the melting ice over other parts of the four counties, to be distributed by the action of water under the surface of glacial lakes, by glacial streams, and by the normal erosion processes of the post-glacial era. Just as portions of the rock and soil of the region were carried beyond its boundaries, so also material picked up by the glacier in other regions, like northern Wisconsin, northern Michigan, and Canada, was dropped on the surface of our four-county strip. It has been estimated that about 13 per cent of the present soil was imported. Some of the rock material thus brought in differed radically from the native Niagara limestone. There are large numbers of granite boulders, for example, which must have come down from the region of crystalline rocks; there are occasional masses or bits of drift copper, which is native to the Lake Superior country; there have been found diamonds at a number of points, some of them within the limits of these counties; and there exist beds of soil known as the Lake Superior red clay, which must have been made from material imported by the glacier and distributed by the agency of water. A number of gravel hills, particularly in the western portions of Racine and Kenosha counties, testify to the way in which the melting glacier, under certain conditions, dropped gigantic loads of partly disintegrated rock which had been carried sometimes for long distances.

During glacial times the lake (now called Michigan, but by geologists named glacial Lake Chicago) was not only at a much higher stage than it is at present, but its outline differed widely from that of the present

Lake Michigan. Moreover, the border of the lake varied from time to time during the glacial era. This is demonstrated by the persistence of ancient shore lines and beaches, of which several distinct fragments remain in Racine, Kenosha, and Ozaukee counties. The cutting back of the land by the modern lake has been so marked in many portions, especially in Milwaukee County, that these old shore lines have been obliterated. Otherwise they would doubtless appear along much more of the eastern edge of the four counties.

As it is, there is a fringe of land beginning below the Illinois line and extending, with irregular breadth, through Kenosha County and north into Racine County, which in origin is an ancient lake bed and lake beach. This land is low lying; it is usually light in texture though in places sufficiently fertile for gardening purposes. It now constitutes a lake-front area of specialized agriculture, producing truck crops—cabbages, onions, sugar beets, etc. A small tract of land similar in character and in origin is to be found also in the northeastern part of Ozaukee County, the belt stretching on into the neighboring county of Sheboygan.

Beyond these tracts, which lie only a few feet above the lake level, and back from the present shore line of Lake Michigan, the land rises by a succession of stages to the crest of the kettle moraine which through much of its course overlies the Niagara escarpment. The area under consideration, therefore, is only a part of the Niagara *cuesta*, or upland, which slopes definitely toward the lake an average of twelve feet to the mile throughout most of its extent. The ascent, in Milwaukee County and in most of Ozaukee, rarely exceeds 200 feet and never 300 feet above the lake level. In Racine and Kenosha the extreme limit is 400 feet.

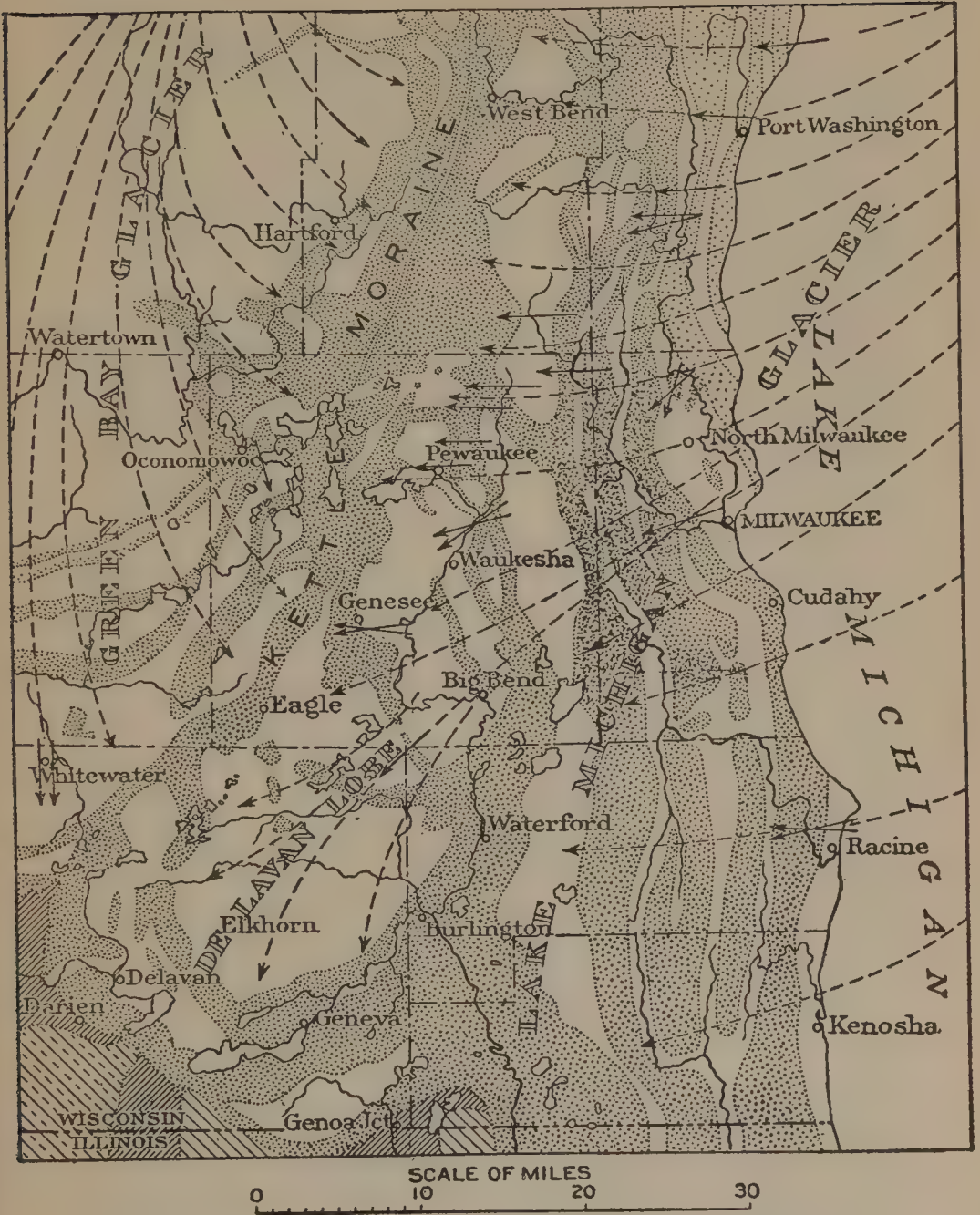
This fact determines the course of the rivers, all except two of which empty into Lake Michigan. The exceptions are (1) the Pishtaka or Fox River, which, rising in the Oconomowoc Lake area of Waukesha County, trends south across the western parts of Racine and Kenosha counties and beyond to and into the Illinois River; and (2) the Des Plaines River, which rises in Racine County and trending southeast and south finally joins the Illinois instead of the waters of Lake Michigan—though the choice is a doubtful one by reason of the low watershed separating the river from the lake.

The other principal streams are (a) Milwaukee River, (b) Menomonee River, (c) Root River, and (d) Pike River. Cedar Creek is an important affluent of Milwaukee River, joining it within Ozaukee County but rising farther west; and Sauk Creek is a short, independent stream entering Lake Michigan at Port Washington in the same county. Milwaukee River has its principal sources within the kettle moraine in Washington and Fond du Lac counties, not far distant from Lake Winnebago. It flows mainly east across the Niagara *cuesta* to Fredonia in Ozaukee County, at which point it is about seven miles from the lake. The river at that point makes a sharp bend and flows south nearly parallel to the lake for thirty-two miles, to Milwaukee, where it enters the lake. Cedar Creek, rising in Washington County, joins the Milwaukee at Cedarburg in Ozaukee County; while the Menomonee, with headwaters in Washington and Ozaukee counties, flows partly in Waukesha and Milwaukee counties, and enters Milwaukee River within the city. Root River has its principal source in western Milwaukee County. It

flows south about twelve miles, then east six miles along the Milwaukee-Racine boundary, thence southeast to the lake at the city of Racine. Pike River is inferior to the other streams described both in respect to length and in respect to flowage. It rises in Racine County, town of Mount Pleasant, and trends south and southeast to the lake at Kenosha, where its estuary forms the harbor, as does Root River at Racine and Milwaukee River at Milwaukee.

The description of these rivers emphasizes the fact that their general course through the four counties is prevailingly southward. This is due to the conformation of the surface as affected by the glacier. A succession of north and south ridges and lowlands parallels the shore of the lake. The ridges are called recessional moraines of the Lake Michigan glacier, which in this latitude pushed its way laterally over the land. When the glacier began to recede, it left at its margin masses of soil, rocks, and other detritus. The melting process, however, was not uniform, due to temperature variations, and it was affected also by changes in the rate at which the ice sheet moved. The result is several almost parallel low ridges separated by depressions. In these depressions the streams flow southward, but alternately break through to the lake as in the case of Menomonee River, or find an opening in the restraining ridge caused by the lake cutting back to the lowland, as in the case of Milwaukee River. The Des Plaines River, likewise, is directed southward by the general trend of the glacial ridges, while the Pishtaka has sculptured its trench in part within the very broad terminal moraine which covers western Kenosha and Racine counties.¹

¹ See accompanying map.



TERMINAL MORAINÉ, SOUTHEASTERN WISCONSIN

From Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey Bulletin XXXVI

The glacial ridges, varying in breadth from one mile to ten or twelve miles, are usually somewhat rolling, but seldom or never rugged. They constitute the best drained and on the whole most desirable farm lands. The intervening depressions, which in the four lake-shore counties constitute a much smaller area than the ridges, are sometimes marshy, sometimes excellent for grain crops or grass, but often they require artificial drainage, which is not in all cases practicable. The most extensive areas of such lowland in Racine and Kenosha counties are in the belt six or seven miles in breadth which occupies most of the towns of Norway and Dover in Racine, and portions of Brighton and Salem in Kenosha County. In Milwaukee County there is a belt of lowland along Milwaukee River which extends a short distance into Ozaukee County. Much of the southern projection of this depression has been drained or graded up in the course of building the city of Milwaukee and its suburbs. The other depressions in the four counties are narrow strips, some of them well drained by the natural streams which flow through them. There are a few lakes and ponds, the largest being Wind Lake in the town of Norway, Racine County, Tichigan Lake in Waterford, Racine County, and Twin Lakes in Randall, Kenosha County.

None of the rivers mentioned above is navigable save at its mouth, where, by means of dredging, the Pike, Root, and Milwaukee rivers and Sauk Creek have been made available as harbors for lake shipping. Milwaukee River is, however, exceedingly valuable for its water powers. There is a fall of 370 feet between the uppermost dam on that river and its mouth. Of this potential only 122 feet had been developed in 1908. The portion of Milwaukee River within the counties of

Milwaukee and Ozaukee has a potential amounting to 48.5 feet. There are now (1923) in operation on that stretch of the river, power plants which develop most of the potential power. The first of these, counting from upstream, is the Waubeka dam with a seven-foot head; then follow, in order, the Chair Factory and the Grafton dams at Grafton, with twelve-foot and seventeen-foot heads respectively, the Lime Kiln dam in section 25, township 10 north, range 21 east, with a twelve-foot head, the Thiensville dam with five feet, Milwaukee dam with nineteen, and South Milwaukee dam sixteen feet.²

Cedar Creek, within the boundaries of Ozaukee County, has at present five powers: Cedarburg Woolen Mills, Columbia Mills, Hamilton Mill, Ruck, and Wire and Nail Factory. The last named has a head of twenty-two feet; the others, in reverse order, fourteen, twelve, ten, and eleven feet respectively. Thus the small county of Ozaukee has an aggregate of ten important and valuable water powers, while Milwaukee County has only the two powers on Milwaukee River and Mansville dam on the Menomonee.

The two southern counties have an aggregate of eight dams, counting all existing works whether effective or not. Seven of these are in Racine County and only one in Kenosha. This latter is at Wilnot on Fox River, where there is a head of only three feet. Rochester on the same river has four feet and Waterford five. At Burlington the dam is in White River, a branch of the Fox, and the head there is ten feet. Horlick's dam on Root River above Racine has a head of twelve feet. The other dams in Racine County—at Wind Lake,

² Wisconsin Railroad Commission, *Second Report on Water Powers, 1914-1923* (Madison, 1924), 535-541.

Lake Denoon, and Lake Waubese—are not used for power. Thus it is seen that the two northern counties have a decided superiority over the southern pair in water power wealth. Milwaukee River and Cedar Creek in pioneer times were favorites of the mill-site speculators, who seized with avidity upon such lands as appeared to afford opportunity for power development. They had entered lands in the still unbroken forests of Ozaukee County, for that purpose, as early as 1834-37.³ Sawmills and grist mills were erected when needed by the pioneer farmers who began to settle in Ozaukee County about the close of the year 1839.

A fundamental difference between the southern pair of counties and the northern was that in the first case the land surface was everywhere accessible to the agricultural prospectors. Racine and Kenosha counties had some groves, but for the most part the land was prairie and oak openings variously distributed and interwoven with swamps or low meadows. The map of native vegetation reproduced as the frontispiece⁴ reveals the situation. It shows along the lake shore, beginning at the Illinois line and extending to the mouth of Root River, a belt of oak timber which occupied two-thirds of the town of Pleasant Prairie, about one-half of Somers, and a third of Mount Pleasant. Nearly all of

³ See land entry plats of Ozaukee County towns, especially Mequon, Cedarburg, Grafton, Saukville, and Fredonia, Appendix.

⁴ The original map was prepared from notes made on the ground by Professor Chamberlin and his "colleagues of the surveying party." "I had with me in the field the plats of the original government land survey," says Mr. Chamberlin, "but they were too general to be of any special service. At the time of the survey, fifty-two years ago, there were sufficient remnants of the native vegetation along the roads, line fences, etc. to give an almost complete representation of the whole area and the soils, topography, etc. lent some aid." Letter dated June 2, 1926.

the balance of two eastern ranges of townships in both Kenosha and Racine consisted of prairie land, save that an island of oak occupied the east half of Paris, a smaller stand of the same timber filled the northeast one-fourth of Caledonia, and there was also a narrow strip of it lying along the western portion of Raymond, which extended north into Franklin, Milwaukee County. In the western half of the Kenosha-Racine area the prairies were few and small. Except in the spaces covered with grass and sedge, such as the marshlands in the town of Norway and the Fox River swale in Salem, the oak was the characteristic tree of all that region. However, as the surveyor's notes prove, these oaks did not constitute forests, but stood in open array, sometimes like a planted orchard, sometimes more densely or less densely, though of course irregularly. Most of the oak-bearing lands are described by the surveyors as "openings," or as lands "thinly timbered with oak." For farming purposes, the oak openings shared the favor of settlers with the prairies. The timber of the openings was not a serious obstacle to cultivation, and it served for fencing and building as well as for fuel. Unless supplies of timber were easily accessible, settlers preferred the openings as farm lands to the treeless prairies.⁵

Since Racine and Kenosha counties were made up almost wholly of prairies and oak openings, the lands of these counties could be easily and quickly brought under cultivation by immigrants seeking to establish

⁵ Joseph Schafer, "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin, Part I," in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vi, 125-145 (December, 1922); also Joseph Schafer, *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin (Wisconsin Domesday Book, General Studies I, Madison, 1922)*, chap. ii.

new farms for the growing of wheat, which was the favorite market crop. In a later chapter we shall see how these conditions affected the date and rate of settlement in these counties.

The peninsula formed by Lake Michigan and Root River, in Racine County, was timbered also, and very differently from the balance of the county. At Root River began the maple forest of southeastern Wisconsin, a dense growth of trees and underbrush which also covered Milwaukee County save about one-half of the town of Franklin, all of Ozaukee County, parts of Waukesha and Jefferson, all of Washington, most of Sheboygan, and the eastern portions of Dodge, Fond du Lac, and Calumet counties. The combined testimony of surveyors, travelers, and settlers, together with authentic remnants of this forest which survive to the present day, and the history of farm-making in the region, proves that the great maple forest was an exceedingly heavy obstacle for settlers to overcome in their efforts to subdue the land to agricultural uses. One would expect, therefore, that such lands would be less attractive than open lands equally well located, that they would be utilized later, and, in short, that their history would differ widely from that of the prairies and openings of the southern counties. We shall see that the contrast between the two pairs of counties due to the difference in their original vegetation made the basis for deep-running, persistent contrasts in the social, political, and economic history of these sections.

One of the problems of settlers in every new country is the supply of water for family use and for livestock. In the matter of water supply the northern two counties again differed widely from the two southern counties, but this time the balance favored the north.

In Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties streams are much more numerous than in Racine and Kenosha; and many of the smaller branches of the main streams are fed by springs. It was therefore possible for a large proportion of the pioneer settlers to find lands on which were springs, or at least an abundance of stock water with a spring or well near by to supply water for the use of the family. Shallow wells, sunk in the glacial drift, usually sufficed for a time at least. Later these could be deepened so as to tap water veins in the underlying Niagara limestone. In the prairies and openings of the south were few springs, so that the settler was compelled, in most cases, to dig and curb a well forthwith. Streams being few and widely separated, many farmers were also obliged to develop artificial sources from which to supply livestock.

The two characteristics of the southern counties, openness of the land and the dearth of natural supplies of water, foredoomed that region to be settled by persons having some available means rather than by the empty-handed pioneers or immigrants. A farm could rarely be started on the prairies or openings without the expenditure of appreciable sums of money for the construction of buildings (for the assembling of timber from a distance, at least, if not for sawed lumber) and for the digging and curbing of a well. In the forest timber was oppressively plentiful, so that house, stable, and sheds could be built of material cut in the course of clearing, and they could be completed with the expenditure of a few days' extra labor and with no outlay of ready money. The site for the homestead was usually selected with reference to a near-by spring or brook, which furnished water for all purposes, likewise without expense. Thus the forest was the place for the poor

man to begin farming, while the prairie or the opening was advantageous only to him who possessed money or credit sufficient for making the first necessary improvements.

The actual soil, which is the settler's primary concern, was good almost everywhere in the four counties. There was, indeed, the usual variation found in glaciated areas between upland and lowland, wooded and prairie soils. But the uplands (except the terminal moraine), which were invariably overridden by the weakening ice sheet, are charmingly modulated, forming a gently rolling terrain ideal for fields and meadows. A portion of the lowlands also is well adapted to agriculture, having adequate drainage. The balance, a relatively small part of the entire surface, consists of peat swamps, or heavy Clyde silty clay loam, which is of inferior quality save when properly drained and subdued by preparatory cultivation. Racine County, especially the town of Norway, has more marshland than any of the other three counties. And in this respect, again, the northern two counties, which were originally forested and which enjoy a more thorough natural drainage system, suffer less than either of the southern counties.

A detailed study of soils is reserved for a later chapter, where that subject will be treated in connection with the history of land entries. The general fact is, however, that the area treated in this volume constitutes one of the richest and most favored agricultural sections of the state.

CHAPTER II

PRE-SETTLEMENT HISTORY

ALMOST exactly two centuries before the settlement of Wisconsin was begun by American pioneers, a trade sprang up between the French of Canada and the Indians living within the present boundaries of our state.¹ That wilderness commerce was continued under the French, and afterwards under the English and the Americans. Thus the interval of two hundred years may properly be treated as introductory to the history of Wisconsin, which as a land continuously occupied *en masse* and developed by Americans is less than a century old.

This early period is made known to some extent by the records of the fur traders themselves, and by the *Jesuit Relations*—reports to the superiors of their order from the Jesuit missionaries who in the French period carried religion to the Indians with whom their countrymen bartered merchandise for furs.² It is illustrated further by official papers of the governments concerned, by diplomatic correspondence, legislative proceedings, and by private letters and diaries.

The result obtainable from all these sources is not,

¹ Jean Nicolet visited Wisconsin tribes about Green Bay and the lower Fox River in 1634 as agent for Samuel de Champlain, head of the French colony at Quebec.

² The definitive edition of the *Jesuit Relations* is by Reuben Gold Thwaites. A one-volume edition, very useful in some respects, was issued in 1925 from the publishing house of Albert and Charles Boni, New York, edited by Edna Kenton.

however, a history of the Indian tribes of Wisconsin. It is mainly a history of the commercial activities of French, British, and Americans with those Indian tribes; although some light necessarily is shed upon the movements of Indian peoples during that epoch, the intertribal wars, and the reciprocal effects upon Indians and whites alike of the trade relations subsisting between them. While the Indians were the original occupants of the soil, and doubtless enacted here a history which was intensely dramatic, that history in most of its aspects is completely obliterated. Neither the Indians themselves nor the white observers of the Indians have left records which would enable us to present in detail, for even the period of the fur trade, the internal history of individual tribes, although many facts about their external relations and about their manner of life have been handed down to us.

The student who would understand the Indian background of Wisconsin history, or the history of any part of Wisconsin, like the four counties treated in this volume, must unite in himself the offices of historian and archeologist. The historian confines his efforts mainly to the interpretation of written documents, and since none of these were left by the Indians, his research reaches its earliest limit at the year 1634, when civilized man began to observe and to write about the Indians of Wisconsin. The archeologist deals with every kind of physical remains, and inasmuch as the Indians left such evidence of their occupation in a fair degree of abundance, he is enabled, in his investigations concerning Indian culture, art, religion, war, domestic customs, tribal organization, etc., to push back into the indefinite past, taking advantage wherever possible of historically ascertained facts to interpret prehistoric conditions.

Among the Indian remains are such articles made by them (artifacts) as now appear in almost every historical or archeological museum. Every visitor to museums is familiar with the Indian stone and copper implements; with the axes, adzes, knives, spear heads, arrow heads, chisels, hoes; with bone awls, needles, fishing hooks; with Indian pottery and basketry of various designs; with woven mats; with birch-bark canoes, and dugouts. Ideas of art as well as of utility are revealed in these articles of Indian manufacture, and when studied in the light of our knowledge of the historic tribesmen in their uncorrupted state—their dignity, love of ceremony, friendship, hospitality; their religious prepossessions, their oratory and folklore—it becomes possible to make simple generalizations about Indian character and to assign distinctive qualities to the several tribes or races. For example, the Algonquian races are said to be distinguished for the relative richness of their artistry, showing a definitely imaginative trait; the Siouan, especially the Winnebago, are characterized by literalism, pride, arrogance, and warlike valor.

The most arresting of the Indian remains are those which are sculptured upon the surface of the earth itself. In many localities of southern Wisconsin the pioneer surveyor, land hunter, or casual traveler encountered mounds and earthworks which claimed his attention by reason of their obviously artificial character, testifying to the presence of a race of men who preceded, by uncounted generations, the white settlers of the land. The district about Madison, the Rock River valley, Lake Koshkonong, the Wisconsin and Mississippi valleys, and the Niagara upland sloping toward Lake Michigan, are regions especially rich in

mounds, though examples are to be found in many other localities. Some of the groups contain large numbers of individual mounds and mounds of impressive size or of startling conformation. There are small conical mounds, oval mounds, linear mounds, and, most interesting of all, effigy mounds representing birds and animals. In two cases there have been discovered effigies of man. In some instances earthworks having obviously a defensive purpose are in close physical proximity to other mounds which are probably ceremonial, sepulchral, or symbolic. Perhaps the most noted example is the prehistoric work at Aztalan in Jefferson County, which has often been described from Doctor Lapham's day to our own.

The name applied to the Aztalan group signifies that some of the early writers who described it assumed or suspected a connection between the authors of those works and the ancient people of Mexico, the Aztecs, conquered by Cortes. It was thought that the builders of the mounds must have been a people of advanced culture, similar to the Mexicans, and that in any case the Indians who in historic times by their savage conduct roused the hatred or contempt of the white pioneers could not have been the mound builders.³ This impression was strengthened by the failure of most existing tribes to preserve definite traditions of a mound-building era in the past careers of their people, by the apparent absence of the art among historic tribes, and

³ N. F. Hyer, who seems to have published the first account of Aztalan (see *Milwaukee Advertiser*, February 25, 1837), derived the name from Humboldt's description of Mexico. Hyer called Aztalan an ancient "walled city." A complete archeological survey of the Aztalan group, conducted in a thorough and scientific manner, has been executed by Dr. S. A. Barrett, of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

by physical evidence that the Indians of some generations back did not understand the significance of mounds found by them in their villages and cornfields.

The newer anthropology, however, discards the theory that the mound builders were a distinct race, and considers them simply as the ancestors of certain modern tribes of Indians. In particular, the bulk of the mounds in southern Wisconsin and especially the effigy mounds are now by practically common consent assigned to the Winnebago Indians, a branch of the Siouan stock, representatives of which still remain in various parts of this state, and in other states; and of which Chief Red Bird is perhaps the most attractive example in pioneer times. The Winnebago, unlike other tribes, have a distinct tradition about the construction of the mounds. Some old men a few years ago claimed to remember the circumstances under which individual mounds were built, and they have reasonable explanations of the uses to which several types of mounds were put.⁴

Mounds were constructed, however, by several other tribes. The presence in them of characteristic artifacts proves that some of those west of Green Bay were built by the Menominee; others in northern Wisconsin are of Dakota Sioux origin, or of Chippewa origin; and still others, among them certain mounds in the lake-shore counties, can be confidently assigned to the Pottawatomie.⁵ In Minnesota the Dakota Sioux have built certain effigies by outlining the figures with stones.

⁴ Paul Radin, "The Winnebago Tribe," in United States Bureau of Ethnology, *Thirty-seventh Annual Report*, 79.

⁵ For this modification of the view that the Winnebago were the mound builders I am indebted to Charles E. Brown, secretary of the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

If we accept as probably correct the view which credits the Winnebago as builders of all or most of the Wisconsin effigy mounds (though the other tribes mentioned may have built a number of the other types), it becomes interesting to correlate the known movements of the Winnebago with the geographical distribution of the effigy and other mounds.⁶ Three decades after Nicolet visited Wisconsin (1634) Indian geography appears to have been about as follows: The Winnebago were around the end of Green Bay and on lower Fox River, possibly, however, regarding the head of Lake Winnebago as their true center.⁷ The Menominee were west of Green Bay and north of the Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox Indians on upper Fox River and on the Wisconsin, the Potawatomi in Door Peninsula, and the Miami along the shore of Lake Michigan to the south. Probably all of the territory of our four lake-shore counties, and more, belonged at that time or shortly thereafter to the Miami Indians. Later in the French period the Potawatomi were spread over it, though not to the exclusion of elements from other tribes, while the Sauk and Fox tribes were forced southwestward and the Winnebago gradually spread along the Wisconsin River, over the area between the Wisconsin and the Mississippi, through the Four-Lakes region, the Rock River valley, and Lake Koshkonong. Never, in historic times, did these people overspread the lake-shore counties. Yet there are in those counties several very interesting groups of mounds such as the Winne-

⁶ See Louise P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, 1925), 71-73.

⁷ This point is disputed. P. V. Lawson, who made a careful study of Winnebago history, believed that Nicolet came to Doty Island, head of Lake Winnebago, to meet these Indians. The absence of mounds around Green Bay favors his interpretation.

bago are credited with constructing elsewhere, and it may be, as Paul Radin suggests, that the tribe had come up from the south in the prehistoric time, leaving their architectural record for other tribes to ignore or misinterpret.

A theory of the Indian history of Wisconsin which is gaining adherents among archeologists makes the Winnebago (with related Siouan tribes) the ancient occupants of practically all portions of the state. If that view is correct, we are justified in picturing an Indian background of the historic period characterized by a high degree of social unity, by a prevailing condition of peace, by stable Indian settlements, with permanent fields, gardens, and burial sites; by well-worn trails leading to the buffalo ranges, to the villages of related clans, to the waterways for trade and intertribal communication. This primitive arcadian felicity, if it ever existed, was destroyed by the intrusion into Wisconsin, after the close of the prehistoric era, of unrelated peoples of Algonquian stock. It may have been due to pressure from intruders that the Winnebago found themselves on lower Fox River and Green Bay.

We are, therefore, quite unable to date the mounds of the lake-shore counties, except to say that, assuming many of them to have been of Winnebago origin, they must have been built before 1600. Perhaps they were built before the voyage of Columbus. But other groups of mounds, in the western part of Wisconsin, are believed to have been built by the Winnebago not earlier than the eighteenth century.⁸ On the theory that the Winnebago once overspread the entire state, the difficulties encountered by some of the archeologists disappear. Radin, for example, is troubled by the absence

⁸ Radin, "The Winnebago Tribe."

of historical testimony to the presence of Winnebago in the lake-shore counties, where, nevertheless, mounds of their construction almost certainly existed in considerable numbers. On the other hand, he seems disposed to date the more westerly mounds from the circumstance that these areas were occupied by the Winnebago in historic times.

In regard to the significance of the several types of mounds, the Winnebago themselves appear to be clear only with reference to the effigies and the oval and conical mounds. The effigies, they say, were clan totems, placed commonly at or near the sites of villages or of plantings like cornfields. The effigy was the sign of the clan; where it appeared, an earth mound formed roughly like a hawk, or a bear, or a deer, or a panther, there the clan which any one of these emblems represented is supposed to have been regnant. A few effigies contain burials, but this was not their main or usual purpose. The oval and conical mounds, judging from Winnebago testimony supported by the almost uniform discovery of skeletons in them when excavated, were usually sepulchral mounds. The linear mounds are still more or less of a mystery. Some of them seem to have been related to systems of defense, others it is believed were bases of lodges; still others have appendages suggesting that they may have been intended to represent in a crude conventionalized way some animal or reptile, at the same time that the mound served a useful purpose for the base of a lodge or a series of lodges, as the foundation of a palisade for defense, or a sort of breastwork to protect the villagers when they should be engaged in combat with an intruding force. On this point, however, we must await the results of further researches by the archeologists.

Turning now to the archeological record of the four counties, we find examples of several types of mounds in each of them. Increase A. Lapham, the founder of Wisconsin archeology, in his *Antiquities of Wisconsin*,⁹ presents a map of the distribution of prehistoric earth-works. He locates burial mounds on the lake beach just below the state line, others at and near Kenosha, still others near Root River at Racine, where was also a lizard or panther effigy mound, a series of groups near Milwaukee, and others along the course of Milwaukee River in both Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties. These include the famous works on Indian Prairie in township 8, range 22 east. He adds, also, groups of mounds in western Racine County, near the Pishtaka or Fox River. Many of the works described by Doctor Lapham have long since disappeared, victims to the ruthlessness of farmer and city builder alike. Meantime, however, Lapham's pioneer record remains, and other investigators have been completing the outline which his patience, ingenuity, and scholarship supplied. Dr. Philo R. Hoy, of Racine, and George A. West are foremost among later contributors to the archeology of Racine and Kenosha counties. Doctor Hoy, indeed, collaborated with Lapham in this field, as well as supplemented him, and Mr. West in his eager pursuit of local prehistoric lore included Racine and Kenosha counties among other Wisconsin areas treated in detail. Mr. West has also been active in Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties, where the recent researches of Charles E. Brown have cleared up many remaining problems.

In summarizing the knowledge of the four counties which has been gained since Lapham's day, it would be as well to begin with the Indian trails. Mr. West de-

⁹ 1853.

scribes five main trails, as follows: (1) the Chicago-Milwaukee trail, which, following along the Des Plaines River and the south branch of Root River, crossed the towns of Pleasant Prairie, Bristol, and Paris in Kenosha, Yorkville and Raymond in Racine County, thence through Franklin and Greenfield to Milwaukee; (2) the lake-shore trail, which seems to have united a goodly number of villages, the sites of which have been discovered along the beach; (3) the Fox River trail, through Wilmot, Burlington, Rochester, Waterford, over Indian Hill and past Wind Lake in the town of Norway, thence via Muskego Lake to Milwaukee. A branch of this trail passed up the Fox to Big Bend in Waukesha County; (4) the Racine-Waukesha trail, from Racine northwest through the present Thompsonsville, via Skunk Grove; (5) the Racine-Rochester-Janesville trail, along the line of the later plank road.

The trails, like modern highways, determined or indicated the location of the villages; these in turn established the geography of camp sites, burial mounds, defensive works, totemic mounds, gardens, and cornfields. Perhaps the most striking additions to the sites sketched by Lapham in Racine County are the extensive village site in the town of Norway, near Wind Lake, the cornfields and camp site in the town of Raymond, and several village sites along the lake-shore trail. All of the principal mound groups known today were, however, seen and described by him.

The most interesting works in the two southern counties are those near Racine.¹⁰ They lie along Root River in clusters, and are mainly conical burial mounds. But there are several "lizards"¹¹ and certain linear

¹⁰ Lapham, *Antiquities of Wisconsin*, 6-10.

¹¹ Lapham's "lizards" are today regarded as panther mounds, or, more properly, water spirits.

works. At one point, on low, rich river soil, are Indian garden beds with ridges laid out parallel to one another in very regular form. Evidence of caches for the preservation of the productions of these gardens has been found, also what appear to have been lookout mounds designed to facilitate the guarding of the crop against animal or human enemies. When found, these gardens were overgrown with forest trees, some of which were ascertained to be more than four hundred years old. Their actual use by the Winnebago or other Indians may antedate Columbus by a considerable period, and possibly we have here a test to help us determine the relative age of the earthworks lying near the gardens, which are almost certainly of Winnebago authorship. If we provisionally project the Winnebago occupation of this region back five hundred years, we shall probably not pass the forbidden bounds of archeological guessing. How their high antiquity may relate itself to the fact that these mounds yield no copper implements is a separate problem.¹²

The mounds around Milwaukee are (or were, for nearly all have disappeared) at various points as indicated on the map printed herewith, which was prepared by Mr. Brown, and which shows, at the same time, the principal trails and village sites. Among them are the bird effigy (sometimes called a man mound) on Wisconsin Street, the panther effigies at the intersection of

¹² Charles E. Brown gives the geography of copper implements as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County north to Green Bay, thence west to the Wisconsin River, south to Dane County, and east to the Milwaukee County line. He and other researchers now believe these coppers were produced by Algonquian peoples and that they were obtained by the Winnebago only through a system of intertribal trade.

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MAP OF MILWAUKEE SHOWING LOCATION OF INDIAN MOUNDS,
VILLAGE SITES, AND TRAILS From Wisconsin Archeologist, Vol. XV, No. 2

Broadway and Johnson streets, the Hawley mounds in block 283, ward 16; the bird effigy on Winnebago Street, in block 120, second ward; the panther effigy in block 114, between Eighth and Ninth and Mill and Vliet streets; the Lapham Park group of effigies; the Sherman's Addition effigies; and the Sherman Street animal effigy in block 36. Several other locations within the city showed mounds of the effigy type, with others; and outside the city, especially along the course of Milwaukee River, are groups of the highest ethnological interest. Of these, the most famous is that of Indian Prairie, in sections 29 and 30, township 8, range 22 east. Here, on a fair tract of high, level ground, near the precipitous western bank of Milwaukee River, protected by the river on the east and by deep ravines north and south, the Indian occupants of the country, possibly half a millennium before our age, maintained an important center of activity. Lapham described, as located on that little plateau, a mound cluster embracing two works in the form of a cross (probably bird effigies), two extensive oblong mounds, two large ovals, and twenty tumuli of various sizes and proportions. But the most surprising of all was an included group of five intaglio effigies—figures of animals made by excavating the form in the earth and heaping the excavated earth around the border, instead of shaping the figure in the usual mound builder's way. Such intaglios, though found elsewhere also, as at Fort Atkinson, are extremely rare.

For further evidence of Indian life centering at this point, we have Lapham's description of a system of garden beds, showing that the ground was carefully cultivated, the planting being in parallel drills or rows about four feet apart. These garden beds ran across

the longest of the bird mounds, which to Lapham seemed to prove not only that the Indian cultivators were a later people than the builders of that mound, but that they were unaware of its significance. For one who has no claim to be regarded as an archeologist, it would be presumptuous to question this conclusion of the pioneer scientist. Yet Lapham's plat of the garden beds, showing the furrows and ridges crossing the long axis of the mound at right angles, raises interesting speculations and fancies. One wonders a little if the fact of cultivation over the effigy must necessarily be regarded as an unconscious desecration of the mound. Why may not the totem have been a better protection to the garden if, like a lightly sleeping giant, it lay just under the growing crop? The gardeners must have done their work here several hundred years ago, possibly not long after the supposedly desecrated mound was constructed. An Indian cornfield, thought by Lapham to have been modern, with hills scattered in orderless fashion over a considerable portion of the plateau and of the land adjoining both north and south, probably testifies to the occupation of this site by later tribes. Such later occupation, in any event, is demonstrated by interments, which in 1850 were very recent in some of the mounds, and by the custom of the Menominee of visiting and camping upon the prairie in pioneer times.

Lapham believed himself able to distinguish four distinct strata of Indian culture on that ground: the mound builders, the gardeners, the corn planters, and the visiting Menominee. One can readily perceive that, in a favored, protected spot like Indian Prairie, successive tribes may have occupied, cultivated the soil and buried their dead, over a period of hundreds of years. This is also true of favorite trading points like Mil-

waukee. Some of the same considerations which caused white men to prize these locations operated in similar ways upon the Indians. Chief among these was the convergence of waterways and trails, though doubtless good fishing grounds and choice lands for gardens and cornfields in the vicinity of trading points helped to determine the locations of permanent villages.

Ozaukee County, while showing a number of works and yielding many artifacts as evidence of the Indian occupation of the land, has no such dramatic groups of mounds as those at Indian Prairie and at Root River. Lapham found a few burial mounds near Saukville, and a group of three others is located at Hilgen Park in Cedarburg. There were mounds near the lake shore in Mequon. Village sites have been located at Saukville, Port Washington, Belgium, Grafton, Cedarburg, Thiensville, and Fish Creek. At Waubeka was the historic village of Chief Waubeka, who is said to have exercised sway over about a hundred Indians at that place as late as 1850.

Indian archeology is an enticing subject of study in some of its aspects, but disappointing in others. Consisting as it does, very largely, in the accumulation and careful description of articles produced by Indians, which articles are more often discovered by accident than by design, it has attracted votaries from every walk of life and of all grades of preparation for performing scientific service. Accordingly, while its influence as a means of developing the historical and scientific attitudes of mind among the people has been most marked and salutary, many of its accumulated data naturally form a very insecure basis for historical inference or generalization.

Moreover, in this field as in others, "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing," and on many points our material is as yet far from complete. But it is a growing science, to which the members of the Wisconsin Archeological Society are making valuable contributions from year to year, and which has also attracted scholars whose interests transcend the local field. Two recent publications have a direct bearing upon Wisconsin archeology; namely, Alanson Skinner's *Material Culture of the Menomini*¹³ and Paul Radin's "The Winnebago Tribe."¹⁴ Doubtless the time will come when the archeology of every neighborhood may be used, with confidence, as a valuable means of interesting school children in their home environment.

The era of the Indian trade with white men, from 1634 to 1834 (approximately), probably accounts for little more than a third part of the time during which our four-county strip was occupied by Indians, if we date only from the mound-building period. Yet the fur trade epoch witnessed profound, even revolutionary, changes in Indian life and customs. These, on the whole, were probably not advantageous to the Indians. For, while the trade supplied them with guns, which immeasurably increased their power over wild game, with some of the elements of civilized apparel, with utilities like brass kettles, knives, fishhooks, axes, and other tools and implements, there is little evidence that it developed the Indian's inventiveness or his urge toward civilization. Indeed, Professor Turner has well said: "The trade tended to perpetuate the hunter stage by making it profitable, and it tended to reduce the Indian

¹³ Published in 1921 by New York Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

¹⁴ See *ante*, note 4.

to economic dependence upon the Europeans, for while he learned to use the white man's gun, he did not learn to make it or even to mend it."¹⁵

There is a doubt, moreover, whether the trade, in addition to perpetuating the hunter stage where it existed, did not also tend to thrust back into that stage those Indians who were making progress toward a more settled agricultural mode of life. Doctor Lapham, in speaking of certain evidences at Indian Prairie, says: "These appearances, which are here denominated 'ancient garden-beds,' indicate an earlier and more perfect system of cultivation than that which now prevails; for the present Indians do not appear to possess the ideas of taste and order necessary to enable them to arrange objects in consecutive rows. Traces of this kind of cultivation, though not very abundant, are found in several other parts of the state."¹⁶ That statement may be taken as an illustration of the suspected fact of cultural retrogression among the occupants of the lake-shore counties after the gardening era. And if we are to suppose that the Winnebago were the gardeners as well as the mound builders (which, though probable, is by no means certain) we should have in the degradation of the Winnebago a measure of that deterioration. In any event, it seems that Indians who merely heaped up their corn hills at random over prairie and river bottom, though they may have been better hunters and warriors, were less grounded in the arts which tend to civilize than were those who four or five hundred years ago platted and planted their gardens in the silt loam

¹⁵ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. ix, no. 11-12 (Baltimore, 1893), p. 32.

¹⁶ *Antiquities of Wisconsin*, 19.

along Root River or in the upland soil above the Milwaukee.¹⁷

One is tempted to question whether the guns purchased from white traders for piles of beaver skins may not actually have weaned the Indians from the cultivator's art, sending them forth, instead, to win sustenance in ways more thrilling—by following the game trails through the forest or ambushing their enemies for the sake of plunder. "The stage of civilization that could make a gun and gunpowder," says Turner, "was too far above the bow and arrow stage to be reached by the Indian. Instead of elevating him the trade exploited him."¹⁸

The traders, by their private interest, were pledged to secure peace among the tribes with whom they traded. Yet in the Wisconsin area, owing to the rivalry between Canada and New York, French and English, with the Indian peoples between ranged on one side or the other, that trade gave rise to the most relentless intertribal wars.

Moreover, the trade broke up the economic, social, and political habits of the Indians. It caused a universal shifting and relocating of village sites, a redistribution of hunting grounds, and, indeed—partly through the wars it engendered—a general transformation and unstabilizing of tribal geography, which was

¹⁷ Unless, as Mr. Brown suggests in a private interview, the gardeners and corn planters may perhaps have been identical—contrary to Lapham's view.

¹⁸ Turner, *op. cit.*, 68. See also, and especially, Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1825), 99ff. A somewhat analogous case is that of the prairie Indians, who, after the introduction of the horse, because that animal facilitated buffalo hunting left their settled villages and cornfields and became nomads.

not too permanent at best. In this fluidity of Indian life the tribal and clan organizations were seriously modified by the traders' interference, and many old social customs broken up. These conditions all militated against the possibility of quiet growth from the hunter-warrior stage to the stage of a self-sufficing economy based on the growing of crops. And at the same time that the Indian's habits of economy and of art were being revolutionized, his moral character and physical stamina were being undermined by the trader's fire-water. Against these overwhelming forces of degradation the missionaries labored with self-sacrificing zeal, but with no real hope of saving the best in the character of the Indian (except in isolated instances) and elevating him to the Christian plane of living.

When we come to consider the actual trade of the region embraced in the four lake-shore counties—Ozaukee, Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha—our attention necessarily centers on the site of the present metropolis. Probably an occasional trader visited the Indians there before the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁹ There is clear evidence of an Indian trade at that point as early as 1743.²⁰ In 1762, although Michilimackinac was then the regular trading center for Milwaukee Indians, some of them went to Green Bay with offers to trade with the English. During the Revolutionary War, Charles de Langlade of Green Bay enlisted some of the Milwaukee Indians on the side of the British; but the startling successes of George Rogers Clark in his western campaign frustrated the British designs in that

¹⁹ Kellogg, *French Régime*, 262.

²⁰ Beauharnois to the French minister, September 18, 1743: "ten cabins [lodges] that are at Chicagou and two at Milvaky." *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xvii, 437.

quarter and bound the Milwaukee chiefs and tribesmen to an American alliance.²¹ Around 1800 several traders made temporary settlements among the natives living at Milwaukee. Of these the first was Antoine Le Claire, who built a station north of the river in 1800. Another trader, named La Framboise, came a little later and Thomas G. Anderson came at the end of the year 1803. All of these men were finally superseded by the permanent traders Jacques Vieau and Solomon Juneau.

A picture, not too favorable, of the Indian aggregation about the mouth of Milwaukee River is preserved in an Indian census of 1817 executed by John Bowyer, Indian agent at Green Bay. "The Indians of Milwaukee," says Bowyer, "are composed of renigadoes from all the tribes about them, viz., the Saques, Foxes, Chippewas, Menomonies, Ottawas, Winnebagoes, and Potawatomes estimated at three hundred warriors."²²

So much for the character of the village or cluster of villages about the date at which the most famous Milwaukee trader, Solomon Juneau, settled there. Juneau was a son-in-law of Jacques Vieau, who in 1795 had established at Milwaukee one of a series of lake-shore posts for the North West Fur Company of Montreal. He continued that post for a good many years. Juneau himself, who married Vieau's daughter Josette in 1820, first came to Milwaukee in 1818. His post, at the intersection of East Water and Wisconsin streets, became famous as the nucleus of the great city which he did so

²¹ Clark's memoir, 1773-79, in *Illinois Historical Collections*, viii, chap. xii.

²² Quoted by Charles E. Brown, in *Archeological History of Milwaukee County*, 29. I am indebted to that interesting pamphlet and to the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* for most of the specific facts illustrating the fur trade at Milwaukee.

much to help build. Others also traded at Milwaukee, but Solomon Juneau best typifies that trade in which he continued as long as Indians remained at Milwaukee, which was until June, 1838. At that time most of the Milwaukee Indians were removed to the west side of the Mississippi. Juneau, however, stayed on for some years, to participate in the manifold developments of the rising lake-shore city.

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION

THE fur trade was over when the Indians were gone. And here, as elsewhere, the Indians went when the whites were ready to utilize the land. By the middle thirties that time had arrived. The explanation has to be sought in the unexampled spread of population from the seaboard states of the north, especially New England and New York; in the deficiencies of New Orleans as a market for the productions of the new settlements pivoting on the Mississippi; and in the mighty impulse toward the development of the Northwest which was set in motion when the state of New York united the Great Lakes with the ocean by means of her grand canal.

The population of the Union in 1830 amounted to nearly thirteen million. New England together with New York and Pennsylvania, eight states, had a little less than five and a quarter million, or approximately 40 per cent of the whole. The balance was distributed among the other sixteen states.¹ Taken together, the eight states first mentioned constituted the most densely peopled section of the country. Its area was only 160,680 square miles, as against 667,000 square miles included in the other sixteen states. And not only was it

¹ We disregard the four territories of Michigan, Arkansas, Florida, and the District of Columbia.

the most populous region; it was as yet also the area of most rapid and consistent population growth. Comparing the census returns of 1830 with those of ten years earlier, we find that New England had gained 280,000, New York 515,000, and Pennsylvania 376,000, an aggregate gain for the eight states of 1,171,000.²

This gain was not uniform. The New England states varied enormously, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island together adding but 86,000, practically the same as Massachusetts, which was becoming industrialized; while Maine, the new state of the group, gained over 100,000. It is interesting to note that Vermont's increase amounted to more than that of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island combined—a fact which speaks volumes for the influence of the Hudson and Lake Champlain Canal completed at the beginning of the decade. In New York and Pennsylvania the census was taken by districts, a northern and southern in the first, a western and eastern in the second. The northern district of New York (which included the western and northern parts of the state) showed a gain of 315,000, the southern district slightly under 200,000; the western district of Pennsylvania 223,000, the eastern 153,000. This shows that the thrill of advancing life characterized especially those portions of the two great middle states which were still essentially frontier in character. The movement represents a powerful thrust westward from the seaboard toward the Great Lakes and the Ohio River.

² Six of the states west of the Alleghenies—Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri—together gained 1,114,000 in the same time, and of this aggregate the three states north of the Ohio were responsible for 653,000. These three states had a combined area of 134,060 square miles.

This westward movement within the boundaries of the two states was accompanied and largely caused by a program of internal improvements calculated to attach all western-moving emigrants firmly to the seaports by lines of transportation. So the people who were settling in the Holland Purchase of western New York, or in the vicinity of Pittsburg, had none of that sense of being abandoned on the "western waters" or in the "western world" which affected the psychology of the earlier trans-Allegheny pioneers. On the contrary, these later emigrants felt that they belonged to the states within whose boundaries they lived; they looked east, not west; they computed the value of lands and productions in relation to units of transportation cost to Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New York, not in the chances of a precarious flatboat commerce to New Orleans.

The American people had entered upon a new phase of pioneering, which was more scientific or less empirical than that which preceded, and in no department was the difference more manifest than in transportation. Gallatin's famous report on internal improvements, published in 1808; the public discussions year after year of the National Road; the dramatic effect of its construction, and its use by many thousands of the people, especially those who were going west; the intensive education in transportation economics effected by the New York movement eventuating in the Erie Canal; and the premonitions of a future railway age, all contributed to the result.

To a certain extent this is simply another way of saying that the later pioneering movement represented a different people, having different ways. The New West owed its beginnings mainly to emigrants from the

Old West, who were, and had been for four or five generations, cut off from tidewater by river obstructions and by the absence of adequate roads or canals. Thus marooned, they had acquired the virtues of self-help and an independent family economy; but they had lost at the same time much of their original capacity for social cooperation. As a marketing agency, the flatboat built and manned by a family was a normal expression in the transportation field of this type of pioneering. On the other hand, from the time when the Massachusetts General Court provided for laying out and constructing a road from Boston to Cambridge in order to meet the needs of settlers who thus early suffered from the western fever, there were few periods when the seaboard sections of the northern states lost touch completely with their western settlements.³ Roads were usually opened as required, or at least without fatal delays; bridges were constructed, and before the end of the eighteenth century canals were being widely discussed and were beginning to be built. The movement of settlement into western New York from the New England states was signalized by the building of the great road from the Mohawk to the Genesee, and ultimately to Buffalo, which was destined soon to be supplemented in a revolutionary manner by the grand canal. Pennsylvania was somewhat less responsive, and in the early period a portion of her western settlers, lured by the charms of over-mountain valleys, did get out of bounds. Nevertheless, the state in its corporate

³ The planting of the Marietta settlement by New Englanders was one case. That settlement did not grow or prosper greatly. It was not possible to induce New England people, in large numbers, to participate in the colonizing venture on the "western waters."

capacity made a determined and ultimately successful effort to reclaim those settlements by means of roads and canals.

Now that the great population hive of the North-east was swarming, every consideration affecting the future western communities and their mutual relations with the East was thoroughly canvassed. The first and most fundamental question was how to insure a market for the surplus products of agriculture, which practically reduced itself to a problem of transportation. It was inevitable, under these circumstances, that the relative advantages of the Mississippi system and the Great Lakes system should become the subject of general debate, and in that nation-wide discussion the northern route ultimately proved victorious so far as relations with the upper Mississippi valley were concerned. For, it was pointed out that the Erie Canal, the Great Lakes, and the Hudson gave access with certainty, cheapness, and dispatch to the most adequate of the country's seaports; while the Mississippi and its branches were often obstructed by low water at the rapids, flatboat traffic was threatened by dangers from floods, from snags and sawyers, and particularly from sickness and mortality among their crews. Moreover, weather conditions on the lower river jeopardized the cargoes, for flour and pork were apt to spoil in transit, bringing severe losses or even total ruin to the owners. The market at New Orleans, so largely dependent on the demand among the planters of the Gulf states, was precarious in comparison with the more cosmopolitan market at New York.⁴

⁴ See Dewitt Clinton's classic "Canal Memorial," of 1816, in Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, xiii, 211-233. This presents a basic discussion of the advantages of the northern route,

Acting on the conviction that their future prosperity would depend on a commercial connection with the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal, in addition to such advantages as the Mississippi afforded, the northwestern states early began to agitate for the construction of canals of their own. Ohio and Indiana, following New York's lead, united Lake Erie and the Ohio River by means of three great canals of an aggregate length of nearly one thousand miles; while Illinois also, after many tribulations, succeeded in cutting a canal to join the navigable waters of the Illinois River to Lake Michigan at Chicago. These works were strictly necessary to render available for settlers the large areas of territory within those states which lay at a distance from navigable Mississippi waters, but they were also felt to be essential supplements to the Mississippi trade route.

contending that it will be cheaper, better as to the market attained, and it will relieve the Westerners of the fatalities and losses of the Mississippi transportation, it being known "that perhaps one out of five of the western boatmen who descend the Mississippi become victims to disease; and that many important articles of western production are injured or destroyed by the climate." A movement for building ships on the Ohio and sailing them with grain cargoes direct to the world markets gained some headway during the 1840's, but soon declined. C. H. Ambler, "Shipbuilding on the Ohio," paper read before the American Historical Association, Richmond, Virginia, December 30, 1924.

See also *Detroit Gazette*, March 21, 1823, quoting the *Illinois Intelligencer* on the inadequacy of the New Orleans market; the *Green Bay Intelligencer* of December 11, 1833, stressing the division of the Mississippi system as between the section above the Keokuk Rapids and that below the rapids; and the *National Intelligencer*, January 10, 1846, discussing the "two outlets for their trade" possessed by the northwestern states, and their preference for the northern outlet. It says: "Whether it be attributable to similarity of origin, of institutions, and habits, or to ties of consanguinity, or superior salubrity of climate, the people of the northwestern states evidently prefer the market on the Atlantic and they have made prodigious efforts to reach it."

A glance at the population chart for the fifth census, 1830, shows the condition of settlement in the three states mentioned. Ohio, indeed, had gained in ten years under the stimulus of the Erie Canal and of her own canal construction program, a large new area of settlement covering thinly most of the northwest quarter of the state, which was still unoccupied in 1820. But the northern one-third of Indiana was bare of settlement, and in Illinois population was restricted to the valleys of the Wabash, the Ohio, the Mississippi below the entrance of Des Moines River, and the Illinois below Peoria Lake. The rich, beautiful prairies and openings of northern Indiana and northern Illinois had not yet been freed from Indian occupancy—a task, however, which was virtually accomplished by 1833.

Meantime, the internal improvement programs of all three states raised endless difficulties, including bitter political strife over the question of repudiation of debts, and entailed upon the people everywhere oppressive taxes, which sometimes threatened to stop the growth of population by immigration and to prostrate for an indefinite period these generally hopeful and flourishing communities.⁵ This was the situation at the

⁵ Governor Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 222-223, speaks of the effect of the burden of state debt in preventing immigration into Illinois after 1841. "The people abroad," he says, "who wished to settle in a new country, avoided Illinois as they would pestilence and famine. . . . The terrors of high taxation were before all eyes, both at home and abroad. Everyone at home wanted to sell his property and move away, and but few, either at home or abroad, wanted to purchase. The impossibility of selling kept us from losing population, and the fear of disgrace or high taxes kept us from gaining materially." This statement overstates the matter, but the actual situation was serious enough. Ohio and Indiana, whose systems of internal improvements began in the 1820's, ran on the financial rocks some years earlier than did Illinois.

time Wisconsin began to figure prominently in the public mind as a favorable land for the homeseeker.

Michigan Territory, of which Wisconsin formed a part till 1836, was created by act of Congress in the year 1805, though the tract of country lying west of Lake Michigan was not incorporated therein till 1818. That, also, is approximately the time at which Michigan Territory entered upon its real economic development and began to receive attention in the states of the Northeast. For, although the French colony about Detroit was already venerable, and Detroit had long figured as the most important of the western military posts, the region had been thought too remote from the settled portions of the United States to afford attractions to emigrants. Besides, it was commonly proclaimed that the entire peninsula, except a narrow strip along the Detroit River, was swampy or so densely and heavily forested as to be unfit for agricultural purposes. A few men only, and those few fur traders having no interest except to retain the country as a game preserve, had had opportunity to know the falsity of these ancient myths. Before the close of the year 1818, however, explorers from Detroit had penetrated the interior sufficiently to be able to contradict the earlier views and to begin advertising Michigan's fitness to become a great agricultural community.⁶ That its future depended upon the success of New York State in completing the grand canal was universally recognized.⁷ For some years prior to the completion of that work, and in anticipation of its benefits, settlers were going

⁶ See *Detroit Gazette*, November 13, 1818.

⁷ See *ibid.*, March 17, 1820. "River Raisin" says Michigan is more interested in the canal than "any other tract of country except New York," more than Ohio or Pennsylvania.

to Michigan in small numbers and were opening farms whose surplus could temporarily be sold to the fur traders, the military posts, and incoming settlers. The New Yorkers were learning about Michigan's oak openings and tidy prairies, and these people knew what to expect in the way of unearned increment on lands accessible to the New World's greatest trade route, then nearing completion.⁸

The year 1825 was the next turning-point in Michigan's history; for, with the opening of the canal every interest flourished. Immigrants, of whom there had been a few hundred per year, now poured in at a rate to raise the population, in nine years, to 81,000. New counties were created every few months, marking the areas of new settlement. The government proceeded to survey the lands. By 1826 these surveys had covered the southeastern portion of the territory and extended westward to within sixty miles of Lake Michigan.⁹ The government further stimulated emigration by laying out and opening the military road from Detroit to Chicago, and by offering the lands along that road for sale.¹⁰ The drift toward Lake Michigan was strong and relentless, and brought with it the inevitable suggestion of a canal across the peninsula, and later of a railroad.¹¹

⁸ *Detroit Gazette*, November 4, 1821, cites the *Utica Sentinel* as an advocate of Michigan's advantages. Also, *Detroit Gazette*, June 28, 1822, quotes the *Onondago Journal* in regard to Michigan's future markets.

⁹ *Detroit Gazette*, January 5, 1826. Account of John Mullett's survey, and his description of the lands from the St. Joseph River to the Kalamazoo River.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, July 4, 1826. "Important to Land Purchasers."

¹¹ See *ibid.*, June 12, 1827, for a report of the canal meeting at Dexter. The route proposed was by the Huron and Grand rivers. Such a canal, it was argued, would continue the great communi-

By this time the Wisconsin area had become something more than a fur trader's province, for the lead miners of the southwest, starting near Galena as early at least as 1819, prospected most of the Wisconsin lead field in 1827; and in the years following, before the lake shore received settlers in any numbers, established considerable colonies in Grant, Iowa, Lafayette, Green, and Dane counties. These mining activities were affected, temporarily, by the Winnebago outbreak of 1827 and more seriously by the Black Hawk War of 1832. But otherwise their growth was influenced only by the price of lead and the conditions under which that metal had to be marketed. For a number of years the mining district in Wisconsin was dependent on Galena, and the Galena commission merchants in turn depended on the greater merchants of St. Louis. Thus the lead region contributed to swell the Mississippi trade.

The disadvantages of that route, the chief market for lead being in New York, became painfully apparent to the smelters during seasons of low water in the Mississippi, which delayed returns and grievously affected all the business of the mining region.¹² The only chance of avoiding the southern route, however, was to ship lead up the Wisconsin to the portage, transfer to Fox River, and float it down, with several subsequent portages, to Green Bay, whence it could be shipped

cation line begun at the Hudson, westward to Lake Michigan, whence by the Illinois Canal it would reach the Mississippi.

¹² See the important article by O. G. Libby on "The Significance of the Lead and Shot Trade," wherein the history of the shift from the Mississippi route to the lake route is discussed in a fundamental and thoroughgoing manner. The years 1846-47 are critical in that movement. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, 293-304.

by an occasional visiting sloop to Buffalo and so to New York. This route was tried by Daniel Whitney, a merchant of Green Bay, who established the shot tower at Old Helena; but it was too laborious to succeed. What the attempt to use it did accomplish was to suggest the improvement of the Fox-Wisconsin route by the construction of short canals around the falls and rapids of the lower Fox River, and by uniting the two rivers at the portage.

Agitation of these improvements,¹³ and of the Illinois canal, helped powerfully to bring under the public gaze the region which skirted Lake Michigan on the west, and which lay between Chicago and Green Bay. Said Henry R. Schoolcraft, writing in 1820 or 1821: "The country around Chicago is the most fertile and beautiful that can be imagined. . . . As a farming country it presents the greatest facilities for raising stock and grains, and it is one of the most favored parts of the Mississippi Valley; the climate has a delightful serenity and it must, as soon as the Indian title is extinguished, become one of the most attractive fields for the emigrant."¹⁴ Schoolcraft, on the journey of 1820 (in company with Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan), had descended the Wabash River, reached by way of the Maumee trail from Lake Erie, and he testifies that no settler was encountered on the Wabash above where Newport, Indiana, now stands, which place is due west

¹³ See *Green Bay Intelligencer*, December 11, 1833.

¹⁴ *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River in 1820, Resumed and Completed by the Discovery of Its Origin in Itasca Lake, in 1832* (Philadelphia, 1855). The footnote, page 198, almost proves that the passage quoted must have been written in 1820, for the Indian title was extinguished in 1821. The movement of population into it, however, did not begin till some years later.

from Indianapolis.¹⁵ Ascending the Illinois, he found its banks absolutely unoccupied from Fort Clark to Chicago, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles.¹⁶ A few decayed villages of Potawatomi Indians were encountered, a few Indian cornfields and vegetable gardens, but no clearing, cabins, or regular cultivation. All was magnificent, unbroken wilderness. A decade passed and the Indians were ready to abandon all the balance of northern Illinois, northern Indiana, and southern Wisconsin between Lake Michigan, the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers, and Fox River and Green Bay.

Four treaties, aside from those of 1804, 1816, and 1825, accomplished that result. The first were with the Winnebago in 1829 and 1832, by which the United States bought whatever lands had not previously been given up by that tribe in the region between the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers on the west, Rock River and Lake Winnebago on the east, and the Fox River on the north. The third was the Menominee treaty of 1831, covering the lands bounded east by Lake Michigan, north and west by Green Bay, Fox River, Winnebago Lake, and Milwaukee River. In September, 1833, at Chicago the group of related tribes—the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi— sold to the United States all their lands along the western shore of Lake Michigan, bounded on the west by the Winnebago cession and on the north (and in part east) by the Menominee cession.¹⁷ That treaty cleared southern Wisconsin of the

¹⁵ *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley*, 147.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 318.

¹⁷ Cessions described after Charles C. Royce (compiler), *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, in Bureau of Ethnology *Eighteenth Annual Report*.

Indian title to its lands, which were now ready to be surveyed and granted to individual purchasers.

Would they be wanted by prospective settlers? "Eight years ago," said the editor of a Green Bay paper in 1835, "an officer of the army reported officially to the war department that the land between Green Bay and Chicago was but a waste of swamp, and entirely uninhabitable."¹⁸ This judgment was in line with the early ideas about Michigan peninsula and with the later ideas respecting northern Wisconsin. Probably any heavily wooded glacial country is bound to make an unfavorable impression upon those who laboriously thread its forest mazes, finding their way frequently obstructed by lakes or swamps. Such a country is, in fact, more humid than an open terrain, and the casual traveler hardly stops to reflect that cultivation alone may often suffice to dissipate the excess moisture over large areas. Familiarity with the ground in varying seasons, the facilitation of movement over it by means of trails and roads, observation of the effects of clearing and of cultivation, gradually correct these erroneous impressions and enable men to describe a new region more nearly according to its deserts.

It is therefore not surprising that the next military officer to record his impressions, Major S. C. Stambaugh, should have done so in widely different terms. Major Stambaugh was one of the commissioners to treat with the Menominee Indians in 1831, and he was ordered to explore the country included in the cession made by that tribe. His investigation was necessarily general, but it enabled him nevertheless to convey to

¹⁸ Green Bay *Intelligencer*, June 2, 1835.

the government and the public a pretty clear idea of the value of the lake-shore lands.¹⁹ "I believe," he says of the Menominee area as a whole, "it is not presuming too much to say at least two-thirds of it is fit for cultivation and offers attractions to the agriculturist rarely to be found in any country. The soil presents every indication of great fertility: it appears to be a mixture of brown loam and marl, very deep; and wherever its properties have been tested has been found uncommonly productive. The whole country is bountifully supplied with water from lakes, rivers and small creeks; and with the exception of several extensive and valuable prairies, it is covered with a heavy growth of oak, hickory, maple, cherry, beech, bass, cotton, butternut, elm, ash, and pine timber.

"The Indians have marked the land bordering on the Manaywaukee [Milwaukee] river as being of a superior quality, by the name they have given to the stream, 'Manaywaukee' signifies 'scarce or good land'; its interpretation in our language means 'the river of good land.' The mill privileges on this are very fine; and timber on its border is hickory, oak, hard maple, beech, and black walnut. The whole extent of country between Milwaukee and Manitowoc rivers is represented as being equal in value to that I have just described." The major spoke of the transportation advantages possessed by this country in the fact that Buffalo could be reached by unbroken lake passage and

¹⁹ His report, written apparently in 1831, is partly reprinted in the *Green Bay Intelligencer* of December 25, 1833, and January 8, 1834. The editor says: "As this report was however given nearly three years ago a due allowance must be made for improvements and changes." It was published in full, "from the original MS. on file in the War Department," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, 399-438.

that, when Pennsylvania should complete her canal to Erie, a choice of routes from Lake Erie to the seaboard would be open for the agricultural products of the region. "In concluding this communication," he says, "I cannot refrain from again calling your attention to the dazzling attractions offered by this country to an industrious and enterprising population."

Evidently the desire to purchase land west of Lake Michigan was already widespread, for immediately after the Menominee cession the receiver of the Detroit land office urged upon the surveyor general the desirability of surveying those lands.²⁰ The Sauk War of 1832 prevented the immediate execution of such a plan. But no sooner was that episode ended when preparations for the survey were begun. And now, as may be supposed, the demand for what we shall henceforth call Wisconsin lands was more intense than it had been in 1831. For the Black Hawk War introduced the country west of Lake Michigan to the people as a whole. Easterners obtained descriptions of the territory where Indian fighting was in progress; rivers and lakes, which formerly had been meaningless features of the map, took on reality in the popular mind; forest and prairie areas were differentiated; and, in a word, thousands of persons became keenly alive to the agricultural and commercial possibilities of the region. The actual survey could not start too soon.

²⁰ John Biddle to Elijah Hayward, July 30, 1831. "Early survey desired of lands between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi to which Indian title has been extinguished. GLO, Div. D, R. and R. let, Detroit, 1825-1833." David W. Parker, *Calendar of Papers in Washington Archives Relating to the Territories of the United States (to 1873)* (Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication No. 148, 1911), 195.

The years 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1836 were a time of bustling activity in land matters. The survey commenced in the older settled district, the lead region of the southwest, which was the region first ceded by the Indians as well as the most fully settled. The Fourth Principal Meridian was run due north to Wisconsin River from the Illinois boundary as the base line. Thereafter, ranges of townships were marked off on both sides of the Principal Meridian. By the end of the year 1833 practically everything had been surveyed as far east as Rock River, while a good beginning had already been made in the northern part of the Menominee cession, which, however, was completed later. Since the southern part of the lake-shore counties was ceded last, in 1833 (with a supplementary treaty in 1834), that district was also the last of the southern Wisconsin areas to be surveyed. It was separated into townships in 1835, and the process of subdividing these was completed that year and the next. In his report of December, 1836, the commissioner of the General Land Office was able to say: "The office has been advised of the completion of the balance of the surveys in this district, amounting to 119 townships and fractional townships . . . surveyed and yet to be offered for sale, being all the lands in the Wisconsin territory, east of the Mississippi river, to which the Indian title has been extinguished."²¹

The government survey of any given area meant much more than the creation of definitely located and

²¹ 24 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 3, p. 2. Report of Acting Commissioner John M. Moore. Practically, the boundaries were the lake on the east, the Illinois boundary on the south, the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers on the west, Fox River, Lake Winnebago, and Green Bay on the north. That area is "Southern Wisconsin."

numbered townships, sections, and subdivisions of sections susceptible of easy and certain identification by prospective purchasers. It supplied all that; but in addition it provided the first description of the land which was detailed enough to be of special benefit to entrymen. The surveyor of the township and of the sections blazed his way through the forest or sighted over the open spaces along parallels one mile apart. Since his lines crossed at right angles he necessarily looked into each square mile of land from all four sides, and—save in the densest forest—was bound to see a considerable part of it in addition to what he actually meandered in running the lines. And what the surveyor saw he wrote down in his notebook, a copy of which was filed at the land office of the district in which the lands were located. Prospective purchasers of lands, or in fact any one who was interested, could procure from the land office a transcript of the surveyor's notes on any given township or subdivision. The information made available in this way was basic. For the surveyor took account of the quality of the soil, the drainage and water supply, the kinds of timber, the presence or absence of stone, and the surface features, such as hills, valleys, lakes, swamps, and dry level tracts. He also noted the points where his survey lines crossed trails or roads, described the locations of unusual appearances, like clusters of Indian mounds, battle fields, etc.

These surveyors, who held the title of United States deputy surveyor general, were, or became, prominent and important characters. The list of the men who subdivided the lands in the four southern lake-shore counties included Joshua Hathaway, Elisha Dwelle, Sylvester Sibley, Garret Vliet, and William A. Burt.

Of these Mr. Hathaway is still remembered as a leading citizen of Milwaukee during all the years of his residence in the city, practically from his arrival in 1834 to his death in 1863.²² Mr. Vliet, who died at Milwaukee in 1877, aged eighty-eight years, came in 1835 from Ohio, where he had been engaged as an engineer upon the Ohio Canal. He, like Mr. Hathaway, was a prominent figure in the metropolis for many years.²³ The most renowned of the names in the above list is that of William Austin Burt, inventor of the solar compass and of the equatorial sextant, author of works on surveying and of reports on the mineral resources of Michigan. He is perhaps best remembered popularly for his discovery in 1844 of the famous iron deposits of northern Michigan, at what was later known as the Jackson mine.²⁴

In view of the characters and personalities of some of the surveyors, it is not to be wondered at that their advice was much sought after by the great mass of land hunters, or that some of them should have been tempted to use their special knowledge of the public lands for the purpose of advancing the interests of themselves and their speculative friends. The surveyor was required to put into his official notes such a description of the soil as would be helpful to the ordinary claim

²² See biography in Ellis B. Usher, *Wisconsin, Its Story and Biography, 1848-1913* (Chicago and New York, 1914), v, 1266-1270. Also, Franklin Hathaway, "Surveying in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, 390ff. Papers of Joshua Hathaway have recently been presented to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

²³ See John B. Vliet, "The Story of a Wisconsin Surveyor," in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, viii, 57-66.

²⁴ Scott Cannon, *The Life and Times of William A. Burt of Mt. Vernon, Michigan* (*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, v), 115-123.

hunter. He was not required to describe mill-sites on the water courses or the situations which nature may have intended as locations for future towns. Incidentally, however, the progress of his surveys gave him knowledge of these matters and it sometimes proved to be secrets of considerable value. It was charged in congressional debate that the surveyors "note every valuable lot and sell the information thus acquired to speculators."²⁵

As the survey proceeded, land sales took place, from time to time, at the land offices located in 1834 at Green Bay and at Mineral Point. At the latter office 14,336.67 acres were sold the first year. The following year the two offices together sold 217,000 acres, which was a good beginning only, the sales in Illinois the same year aggregating over 2,000,000 acres, and in Michigan 1,817,000.²⁶ Four years later the Wisconsin land offices, now increased to three,²⁷ sold over 650,000 acres, the Michigan offices only 135,000. Obviously, the region west of the lake was receiving the bulk of the new purchasers, this conclusion being confirmed also by the Illinois land sales of 390,000 acres, located mostly in the northern part of the state. It is now time to inquire who these purchasers were, whence they came, and to what extent they represented genuine homemakers in the area of the four counties.

²⁵ Mr. Claiborne of Mississippi on the land bill, House of Representatives, January 4, 1837. *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 88.

²⁶ It has been computed that up to December 31, 1836, the land offices in Wisconsin sold 878,014 acres of government land, of which 600,000 acres went to speculators. See Moses M. Strong, *History of the Territory of Wisconsin from 1836 to 1848* (Madison, 1885), 217.

²⁷ The third one was at Milwaukee.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN SETTLEMENT

S AID a Green Bay editor early in 1834, "Not a mail arrives but brings to some of our citizens letters showing the deep interest of the writers in the character of our country and proposing various questions in regard to the soil, climate, health, productions, settlements, markets, etc., etc."¹ It is not to be supposed that such opportunities were allowed to remain undeveloped, and we find that, beginning with the pioneer newspaper at Green Bay (1833) new journals came into existence from time to time whose functions included a vigorous propaganda in behalf of the Wisconsin country. The argument, from first to last, included certain constantly recurring notes. The richness of the soil, the salubrity of the climate, the freedom from bilious diseases, and especially from fever and ague (the universal malady of more southern climes), and the abundance of pure drinking water, were urged by all writers. For the would-be farmer it was pointed out that the country afforded almost unique facilities for beginning cultivation. Prairie, woods, oak openings, and meadow or low prairie were so interspersed in many localities that innumerable locations could be found which were ideal for making farms.² "This country," says a writer in the De-

¹ Green Bay *Intelligencer*, February 5, 1834.

² See Milwaukee *Advertiser*, September 1, 1836; Green Bay *Intelligencer*, May 30 and July 1, 1835.

troit *Post* after visiting in Racine, "has a high destination before it. As an agricultural country it will surpass any other country on earth. The farmer may locate himself here and undergo none of the fatigues of clearing his farm; the hand of Providence has done that for him; has smoothed down the mountain and raised up the valley ready for his use. Wisconsin, in my humble opinion, is the Eden of our beloved country."³ Honorable A. Vanderpoel, member of Congress from New York, visited Wisconsin Territory in 1837, going west as far as Madison, where he entered some land.⁴ On the trip he fell in with a native of his home town of Kinderhook, who, though still living with his family in the wagon in which they had made their journey to the territory, had already selected his land and that with such good judgment as to insure to himself a beautiful and valuable farm within a very brief time. He had some timber, some low prairie meadow, and a fine tract of open upland which he must break up for wheat before stopping his teams in order to build a house. And Vanderpoel asserted that situations like that one could be found almost anywhere outside of the heavily timbered area.⁵

The story of this distinguished New York visitor was published in the Kinderhook paper, thus reaching New Yorkers who might be desirous of emigrating. Other eastern papers printed similar accounts of Wisconsin Territory. The *Genesee Gazette* compared the situation of western New York "a few years ago" with

³ Quoted in Racine *Argus*, February 14, 1838.

⁴ The tract along Lake Mendota on which the State University is now located was originally entered by Vanderpoel.

⁵ See Milwaukee *Advertiser*, April 21, 1838.

the Wisconsin of that day.⁶ The Northampton, Massachusetts, *Gazette* noted the numerous farm sales in its neighborhood, which meant the emigration of families to the West. Thus the news was spreading among the people who were destined to be the founders of our state—the Yankees of New York and New England, together with those of adjacent states.

An excellent illustration of the kinds of information on which the Yankees relied when planning to emigrate into the West, is furnished in the case of James Corydon Howard of Rossie, St. Lawrence County, New York. This young man, who was married and was the father of several children, had been restive in the old home for several years. In 1833 he received letters from a brother-in-law who had spent the winter in Illinois, near East St. Louis. These gave him exact knowledge of conditions in the prairie region of that state. In 1834 he made an extended tour through northern Ohio, personally inspecting a number of localities and balancing the advantages of one against those of the others. In the spring of 1836 he was put in possession of a long letter from an old neighbor who had removed to southern Indiana, locating in the heavily timbered region near the Ohio River. This letter expatiated on the mild climate, the splendid timber, and the excellent market for agricultural products at New Orleans. Lastly, another brother-in-law and his father-in-law visited the lake shore in Wisconsin Territory, bringing back such glowing accounts of its superior advantages as to overcome all doubts. So Mr. Howard removed his family, by steamboat, to Milwaukee and settled in the woods four miles south of the town, where in the

⁶ See Green Bay *Intelligencer*, February 3, 1836.

course of many years he made a splendid farm.⁷

In a measure, the sales at the several land offices are an indication of the rate of settlement. Yet the mere fact that the Green Bay land office had taken in more than \$100,000 for government land prior to September 12, 1835, does not prove that 500 claims, averaging 160 acres, had been purchased by intending home makers.⁸ The years 1835 and 1836 in the country as a whole were distinguished as "the two years of speculation."⁹ Eight million, of the 13,000,000 acres sold in 1835, are said to have gone to speculators.¹⁰ In Wisconsin, where land sales were just beginning to be made on a large scale, most of the early purchases were speculative in character. The land at the mouth of the Milwaukee River having been laid off and claimed under the preëmption law, these lands were bought in by the town-site company. The proprietors secured title in part under the provision for "floating rights."¹¹ Similar processes were followed by those who established other town sites, and also by the claimants of valuable water privileges¹² along the course of Milwau-

⁷ Joseph Schafer, "The Epic of a Plain Yankee Family," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, ix, 285-309.

⁸ *Green Bay Intelligencer*, September 12, 1835.

⁹ So spoken of by Benton in his speech on the preëmption act of 1838.

¹⁰ See *Milwaukee Advertiser*, July 28, 1836.

¹¹ *Green Bay Intelligencer*, August 6, 1835. See also O. M. Johnson, *Floating Rights in the Disposal of Public Land* (1925), MS in Wisconsin Historical Library; Frank A. Flower, *History of Milwaukee* (Chicago, 1881), 128ff, account of the George H. Walker case investigated by Congress.

¹² On the fifth of September, 1836, the Kewaunee town site was sold at auction in Chicago. *Milwaukee Advertiser*, August 25, 1836. Sheboygan, Two Rivers, Manitowoc, and other lake sites had a similar history. It was reported that the Troy and Erie line (steamboat company) was interested in the Sheboygan site. Green

kee River. These entries, in Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties, aggregated 435 and were made in the years 1835 to 1837 (except one, made in 1834).

Under the preëmption law then in force a claimant of public lands could buy a quarter-section on which he had his home. If there were persons in his family who could be counted independent cultivators, such as a son of full age, a father, the wife's brother or sister, or even more distant relatives, each of these had a floating right to half a quarter-section, which might be located wherever there was government land, making it highly convenient "scrip." These floating rights, by reason of their utility, were esteemed very valuable. With a wallet full of them in his possession, the speculator could travel through the country, picking the choicest timber tracts, the water powers, town sites, steamboat landings, or desirable farm lands. As these "floats" came into strong demand for speculative purposes, preëmptioners were tempted to sell all they could honestly claim and even, it was said, many which were in fact illegal, based on perjury. Agents of the speculators, said Senator Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, "call upon the poor and ignorant families residing upon the public lands, and persuading them that they have a right to do so, get them to swear that the man and his wife cultivate the land separately, and that each child from 21 to 1 year cultivates separately; and thus manufacture eight or ten preëmption claims from a single family, pay fifty or a hundred dollars for it [them] and lay them upon lands of the United States worth thirty or forty dollars per acre."¹³

Bay *Intelligencer*, March 2, 1836.

¹³ In United States Senate, March 15 and 16, 1836.

The actual value of a float was \$100, the price, at minimum valuation, of the 80 acres of land it would buy. But money was scarce, settlers were needy, and not caring to utilize their rights personally, they gladly turned them over for a half, a quarter, or sometimes even a tenth or a twentieth of their real worth to the man who secured them.¹⁴ Other kinds of scrip existed, the most important of which were military land warrants, originally held by soldiers of the several wars. But these, being mostly in the hands of capitalists, bore a pretty well established price which was not nearly so favorable to the land locator as were the floats he might secure directly from settlers.¹⁵ But even these floats became subjects of barter and sale on the general market, Mr. Ewing declaring that the banks had printed forms all duly made out, "signed and sworn to, leaving a blank for the purchaser to fill up with whatever tract of land he may choose."

Prior to April 24, 1820, the United States sold its lands on credit, giving title on the completion of the payments five years after the entry was made.¹⁶ Inasmuch as the title meantime remained in the general government, the states were prohibited from levying taxes

¹⁴ See Theodore Rodolf, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, 357-358. Mr. Rodolf, as a foreigner, did not know the value of the floats to which his family had a right, so he sold two of them to speculators at the Mineral Point land sale in 1835 at \$10.00 each.

¹⁵ Sam R. Young, of Marshall, Clark County, Illinois, wrote Cyrus Woodman, August 23, 1847, in answer to inquiries about military land warrants. He doubts if they can be bought in that section at 10 per cent discount. The soldiers (of the Mexican War) were all young men, not needy, and would hold out for pretty near the full value of the scrip.

¹⁶ Five years was the stipulated time in which to complete the payments. Several laws were passed granting extensions of time.

upon such lands until they had been in private possession for five years. The effect of the credit sale—one-tenth cash and the balance in four equal annual installments—coupled with the exemption from taxes, was to render land speculation safe as well as profitable. The investment of a few hundred dollars often made the basis of a fortune; for, not infrequently, the shrewd speculator might obtain possession, by paying down twenty cents per acre, of a section of land which would be badly wanted by actual settlers before the first deferred payment was due. Better still, if his selection was fortunate he might lay out a town site and bargain away a few hundred lots before being called upon to complete his payments to the government. And, in any case, all that the speculator had to provide was money to meet his payments when they fell due; the state could not sell them for taxes because no tax might be levied till the payments were completed.

The change to the cash system of sale, in 1820, ought logically to have carried with it permission to the states to levy taxes on lands sold by the government from the date of sale, since (though the issuing of formal patents was a slow and cumbrous process) title passed to the purchaser the moment he paid over his money at the land office and received his certificate. For some reason, however, which is not so mysterious when one realizes how general was the custom of speculation among politicians and public men,¹⁷ no modification in the laws forbidding states to tax for five years was made until 1836. In the enabling acts for Michigan and for Arkansas the usual prohibition was withdrawn and Wis-

¹⁷ See, for example, Joseph Schafer, "A Yankee Land Speculator in Early Wisconsin," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, viii, 377-392.

consin was a beneficiary of the new rule. In 1847 this principle was made to apply also to the states admitted to the Union prior to April 24, 1820.

Meantime, in June, 1836, the former preëmption law expired by limitation and, largely on account of the abuse of the floating rights provision of that law, the effort to revive it was unsuccessful. Thousands of land-seeking farmers were spreading over the prairies and openings of southeastern Wisconsin, and a goodly number were eager to gain homes in the timber as well. But there was no law authorizing them to occupy the lands without first paying over the price to the receiver of the land office. This could not be done, even if the settler had the money to do it, until after the land in question had been proclaimed by the President—that is, until the President issued his announcement that certain described lands, located within a given land district, would be offered at public sale on a certain day, or within a certain period of time, at the land office for that district. When the day arrived, any settler might appear and, the tract on which he lived being cried by the auctioneer, he could make his bid. If his bid was the first as well as the last, the land went to him, a certificate being issued when the money was accepted.

Theoretically, there was no obstacle to the receipt by the land office of bids by speculators at any stage of the process of sale. Speculators also took advantage of the right to buy at private sale lands which had been offered publicly and not taken. But after 1837 speculation declined, at least for a time. It had been built up very largely on bank credits and the use of paper money. Jackson's specie circular of 1837 called for the payment at the land offices of gold and silver only. This made land speculation much less profitable, while

in Wisconsin and Michigan the immediate taxability of lands purchased from the government was an additional blow to the speculator. Moreover, President Jackson withheld from sale most of the lands embraced in recent surveys, including those in the Milwaukee land district. That made it impossible for speculators to buy those lands in the hope of reselling to actual settlers, and since President Van Buren pursued a similar policy the Milwaukee land district was made safe for settlers till the year 1839, by which time a situation had developed that nearly reversed the customary relation of speculator and settler.

Usually, the speculator entered a newly surveyed region first. Armed with land office plats and surveyor's notes, he traversed townships and sections, noting favorable situations here and there, and finally, at the land sale, he would bid in such tracts as promised to be salable at a good profit within a reasonable time. Then, when the settlers came, they had the alternative of buying lands entered by the speculators or taking poorer tracts which the speculators had left. In the Milwaukee land district, however, sales being indefinitely postponed, the settlers came in great force so close upon the heels of the surveyors as to leave a very slender opportunity for their speculative competitors. In the two southern counties, Racine and Kenosha, settlers took the pick of the land, and they also made many selections in the forested region of Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties.

The movement of settlers into the region was well started by the spring of 1836. Most of the emigrants came by sloop or steamer on the lakes, debarking at Milwaukee, Racine, or Kenosha, or else at Chicago, whence they made their way up the coast. A wagon

road from Chicago had been opened in 1835 as far as Milwaukee, and from there another road had been cut through the timber westward toward Rock River. From Milwaukee northward a trail led near the lake shore as far as Sauk Creek, which afforded ingress to many of the favorable locations in Ozaukee County, and efforts were then being made to complete that trail to Sheboygan.¹⁸ In the region of prairies and oak openings, which included Racine and Kenosha counties, trails could be broken without other difficulty than that which was involved in avoiding the swamps. Many of those bound for the Rock River country landed in Chicago and proceeded overland by wagon across the prairie. Some drove all the way from central New York or even farther east to the lake-shore counties of Wisconsin.¹⁹

The rate at which the lake-shore lands were occupied by farmers, while not unprecedented, was nevertheless rapid. The year 1836 is said by the newspapers to have brought "thousands," which in this case was not an exaggeration; for the territorial census, taken in July, assigned 2893 inhabitants to the original Milwaukee County. This number was exceeded by the county of Iowa, embracing the lead region, but it was larger than that of Brown County, containing the ancient Green Bay settlement, or Crawford, in which was the old trading town of Prairie du Chien. The financial depression of 1837, coupled with the doubtful situation respecting land laws, reduced the force of the move-

¹⁸ Green Bay *Intelligencer*, April 13, 1836. The government road from Green Bay (Fort Howard) to Chicago had been surveyed but was not yet opened.

¹⁹ Note the case of Jephtha Porter, *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, ix, 285.

ment somewhat. But the next year it appears to have been stronger than ever.

A means of actually measuring the influx occurred at the census of 1840. It revealed the presence of 3475 persons in Racine County (including the present Kenosha County), and 5605 in Milwaukee County. Ozaukee County, then called Washington, had a population of 343.²⁰ Milwaukee County's total has to be divided between the area now comprehended in the two counties of Milwaukee and Waukesha. A study of the census returns, in this case given by towns some of which are described by surveyor's townships, leads to the conclusion that there were 3345 persons within the present limits of Milwaukee County and 2260 in the Waukesha area. Racine County's total was spread over the present counties of Racine and Kenosha, and since these returns were not analyzed by towns, there is no way of distributing them with exactness between the two counties.²¹

Summing up, we find within the area of our four lake-shore counties, at the census date in 1840 (June 1), a grand total of 7163 persons, all of whom had entered the region within six years and all but a negligible

²⁰ Washington County was divided later, the eastern part being set off as Ozaukee. This eastern portion contained practically all of the settlements in 1840, probably not half a dozen families living outside of its boundaries. We shall therefore treat the census returns for Washington County as if they had referred specifically to Ozaukee County.

²¹ In the election for delegate in Congress, September, 1838, Racine County cast 437 votes in seven precincts, as follows: Racine, 108; Southport (Kenosha), 97; Pleasant Prairie (Kenosha County), 52; Salem (Kenosha County), 33; Foxville (Kenosha County), 23; Rochester (Racine County), 45; Mount Pleasant (Racine County), 79—a total of 232 in Racine County, 205 in Kenosha County.

fraction of the number within four years. It is clear that the southern area was favored by the emigrants. Racine County had a majority of the general total, and if the villages or towns were excluded and only the agricultural settlers counted, the difference would be strongly emphasized, because the town of Milwaukee had 1712 persons. The census took note of occupations, which enables us to determine how largely the settlers claimed to be agriculturists. In Racine County 981 were described as farmers, as against 272 who were distributed among four other occupations—commerce, manufacturing (including the trades), navigation, and the learned professions. In Milwaukee County the first census division, which embraced the towns of Lake, Franklin, and Kinnickinnic (the later Greenfield), had 348 farmers and only 26 others, while the second division, in which was the town of Milwaukee, had 305 farmers as against 374 in other occupations. The town itself, in a total of 1712 persons, counted 132 farmers and 361 non-farmers. That is to say, 3475 persons in Racine County yielded 981 farmers; 3345 persons in Milwaukee County yielded only 653 farmers. On the other hand, Racine County's population shows only 272 non-farmers, as against 400 non-farmers in Milwaukee County. Among the 343 persons domiciled in Ozaukee (Washington) County, were 141 farmers and only 14 non-farmers.

Our grand total of persons engaged in agriculture being ascertained, by adding the totals for the three districts, to be 1775, the next inquiry is how many farms are represented by the farming population. This question can be settled definitely by a hand count of the number of separate mentions of farmers, for wherever members of a family were working as farmers there was

a farm. In Racine County, according to this computation, were 536 farms; Milwaukee County had 375, and Ozaukee 79. The aggregate is 990, which may be accepted as showing the state of the agricultural settlement of the four counties on June 1, 1840. In round numbers, a thousand families had made or contemplated farm homes on lands which were virgin forest, prairie, or openings, when the survey of the lake-shore strip was completed in 1836.

In the above our definition of a farm is necessarily liberal. Any person who was trying to hold a claim would describe himself as a farmer, and no doubt a large proportion of all "farms" were at that time mere claims, with only the sketchiest improvements upon them. All, however, were farms in embryo, and in Racine County a good deal of agricultural development had already taken place. Of this there was much less in Milwaukee County, and still less in Ozaukee.

When settlers began to arrive in the lake-shore counties in appreciable numbers, the preëmption law was about to expire. The fact was commented upon by newspaper editors, who also tried to allay the emigrants' fears as to what would happen in view of the failure of Congress to enact a similar law. Said the *Milwaukee Advertiser*, September 15, 1836: "The refusal to pass a preëmption law was not the result of hostility to the settlers, or a denial of their rights or claims to protection, but was owing to the frauds which had been committed under that part of the law of the 19th of June, 1834, allowing floating claims. The operation of that law was injurious to the settlers themselves, as it gave the capitalist and speculator the power, by means of floats, to deprive them of that property which they had been endeavoring to secure by many

months of fatigue and hardship. It left open a door for the commission of frauds and perjuries and brought odium for the whole upon preëmption laws." The editor gives assurance that no future law will contain this objectionable feature. People are being deterred from emigrating for fear they may not be able to acquire title to lands, but the danger is not real. "There is," he says, "a disposition on the part of the people of the whole west, on the part of the government, and among speculators themselves, to see the rights of the settlers secured and protected."

Evidently the settlers were not eager to test too far the philanthropic disposition of speculators, for a few months later steps were taken to organize a settlers' association, whose object was to make settlers secure both against claim jumpers and against speculators' bids at the future land sale. The call for the settlers' meeting was issued March 4, 1837, and the gathering at Milwaukee County courthouse, said to have numbered more than one thousand persons, occurred on the thirteenth of the same month.²² A committee of twenty-one drew up the rules or claim laws which were adopted. The editor says: "We are aware that there are some people who affect to sneer at the regulations adopted by *squatters*, as they are pleased to denominate those who settle upon the public lands, but we can assure them that there is no mistake here; the people of this county are fully competent to carry into effect any and all regulations put forth by the meeting."

The rules were sixteen in number, occupying two full columns in the newspaper. They can be summarized briefly: One square mile of land was the upper limit of claims for which protection might be expected.

²² Milwaukee *Advertiser*, March 4 and 18, 1837.

The claimant of a quarter-section, which was the normal amount, must, within six months from the time of making such claim, improve and cultivate at least three acres. At the end of a year he must have, in addition, a house on the land or double the above area improved. If the claim is 320 acres the claimant must improve ten acres within six months, or fifteen acres within a year. Instead of the last five acres he may build a house. In case of claims larger than 320 acres, an amount of improvement was required equal to fifteen acres in the first six months, one-tenth of the entire claim within a year, and also the erection of a house. Thus the man who claimed an entire section would be obliged to bring into cultivation, the first year, sixty-four acres of land, or ten times as much as was required of him who claimed only 160 acres. The rules were obviously designed to restrain the cupidity of land seekers to an amount of land that could actually be used for farming purposes. All claims were to be registered by the association without charge to the claimants; disputes were to be settled by the local judicial committee of the association, with right of appeal to the central executive committee. A full list of all claims was to be prepared before the day of public sale of the lands at the land office, and the ninth rule recites: "Whenever the lands in this county shall be brought into market the executive committee shall appoint an agent to bid off the lands in behalf of the settlers whose lands are entered on the book of registry, and no person shall in any case be countenanced in bidding in opposition to said agent on behalf of the settlers." The humor of the last clause is in the form of statement. It meant "no person *will be permitted* to bid in opposition to said agent on behalf of the settlers."

The sale of the lands in the Milwaukee land district was several times deferred, first by President Jackson, who postponed all land office sales in the new surveys. Van Buren proclaimed such a sale to take place in November, 1838, and a few sales were actually made at that time; but the settlers did not feel in position generally to pay for their lands, on account of the ravages of the panic, which made the procurement of money for the purpose no easy matter. On the recommendation of Governor Dodge, the legislative council adopted a memorial requesting the president to postpone the sales of land in Wisconsin Territory for one year. This petition was regarded, though the sale was actually postponed only to February, 1839, giving claimants a respite of some four months.

Meantime the settlers "in great numbers," so it was stated in the press, perfected their preëmptions under the law of June 22, 1838, which gave actual occupants an exclusive right to bid in 160 acres at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre.²³ The statement looks doubtful, since their associations protected them in the purchase of claimed lands up to 640 acres, and the General Land Office files do not appear to contain records of preëmption declarations prior to 1841.²⁴ The land sale started at Milwaukee on Monday, February 17, 1839, and continued four weeks. It was stated that during the first seven days the sales, to actual settlers exclusively, exceeded the sum of \$260,000.²⁵ In a summary published at the close of the sale the total receipts were

²³ *Wisconsin Enquirer*, November 15, 1838, quoting the *Milwaukee Advertiser*.

²⁴ See report on the General Land Office files by Newton D. Mereness. MS in Wisconsin Historical Library.

²⁵ *Milwaukee Sentinel*, February 26, 1839.

put at above \$600,000, and the comment was added: "Nearly the whole of the vast sum has been paid in by the occupants of the soil."²⁶

It would be gratifying if we could know with certainty that actual settlers secured the full advantage that came from the privilege of buying these choice lands at the government price for their own use, and that speculative purchases were virtually excluded. Traditionally this is supposed to have been the case. Yet the records of land entries which we now have in hand for the four lake-shore counties throw doubt upon it by showing that many tracts were entered by moneyed men. Shall we be forced to conclude that despite the lateness of the survey and the ubiquity of the land-seeking farmers (who were spying out the best locations while the surveyors were running the lines), and notwithstanding the organization of a claim association grimly determined not to "countenance" bids from speculators at the land sale, these speculators nevertheless obtained a goodly proportion of the lands?

The suspicion that they did so arises partly from the land office record of purchases just referred to, but it is intensified by contemporaneous letters of land operators revealing what designs those gentry had upon the Milwaukee district lands and how they expected to carry them out. John Catlin, writing August 2, 1838, predicts that the enormous number of land transactions about to take place (sales being scheduled for Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois, as well as Wisconsin) would

²⁶ Milwaukee *Advertiser*, March 16, 1839. Increase A. Lap-
ham (letter dated March 17, 1839, and postscript) says: "There
has not been an acre sold for more than \$1.25 per acre. The actual
settlers have all obtained their farms, and but very little land has
been bought by speculators."

create a kind of money famine. Claimants would therefore be unable to obtain the means to buy their improved lands and this would open the door to speculation. "Opportunity will be afforded," he says, "to those who have money, of entering one-half of a preëmptor's farm which is improved by paying for his half; that is the preëmptors will be willing to let you bid off their lands at the sales and deed one-half to them. My opinion is that as much money can be made at the land sales to take place this fall as at any former period, by purchasing only such lands as have been improved, with the settler's consent."²⁷ The government, in fact, proclaimed for sale in the year 1839 an aggregate of over 12,000,000 acres, and there was sold in the first three-quarters of that year more than in the entire year 1838. It is thus seen that Catlin's expectation rested on facts. The question is how far the situation enabled the speculators to attain their hoped-for advantages.

Our means of testing the matter include, besides the record of land entries for the four counties, the settlers' (claim association) record of claims for the then Milwaukee County, and other data to be mentioned later. The claim record covers, in the case of every quarter-section of land which has been claimed, the date at which the claim was made, with name of claimant, and also the record of transfers, if any, between the date of the original claim and the land sale. Such transfers sometimes number four or five, but in some cases the original claimant still retains his interest and is on hand to

²⁷ Letter to Moses M. Strong. With Strong Papers, Wisconsin Historical Library. At that time the sale was scheduled for November, 1838.

bid the land in at the sale. Normally, the last claimant named (whether he be the original claimant or not) becomes the purchaser of the tract at the land office sale, in which case claimant and entryman are identical in the records. But in a surprisingly large number of instances they are not the same, persons whose names cannot be found in the claim book appearing on the government tract-book as entrymen.

The explanation of the shift between claimant and entryman is different in different cases. Sometimes settlers claimed more lands than they could use and were glad to relinquish a portion, for a money consideration, which portion could then be entered by other settlers whose holdings were too small or by men who attended the sale in the hope of being able to obtain a home in that way. Again, a settler was sometimes forced to give up a part of his claim in order to pay for the balance, and the part sold might go to a newly arrived farmer or it might go to a man of large means who was on hand with money to invest. In fact, so many and various were the private transactions which were taking place during those weeks, that the land sale had many of the characteristics of a medieval fair, though here buyers and sellers met to deal in just one commodity, land. When the sale was announced by the land office, the newspapers of the region urged all claimants to make the most strenuous efforts to obtain the money necessary to secure their homes.²⁸ As the deferred date of sale drew near and it became certain that many would be unable to raise the money in advance, they were notified by the press that plenty of money would be available at Milwaukee during the sale, and that this would be "let to settlers on more favorable

²⁸ Racine *Argus*, August 1, 1838.

terms than has hitherto been calculated upon.”²⁹ So, doubtless, the moneyed men were very welcome attendants at the sale despite the universal detestation in which land speculators were held by the settlers.

The records testify that six prominent capitalists were on hand, either in person or by their agents. They were Byron Kilbourn, John Hustis, William Nelson, George Smith, Martin O. Walker, and Eliphalet Cramer. Kilbourn is known best as the promoter of the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal, and later of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad. He was primarily concerned with such projects more than with land speculation, though his creation of the “Kilbourntown” plat of Milwaukee and his confessed readiness to pick up government lands which promised well are sufficient proof that speculation in lands was not beneath his notice.³⁰ Kilbourn secured, at the Milwaukee land sale, certificates of purchase of lands located in township 5, range 21 east (town of Franklin, Milwaukee County) to an aggregate of 1600 acres. But he did not hold the lands so entered. In all but one or two cases he transferred immediately, and in all cases within a few months. Moreover, with rare exceptions the parties to whom he transferred were those whose names appear on the settlers’ list as claimants to the tracts he entered. The town of Franklin entries are typical of his operations at the sale generally, for, though he entered some tracts lying in other Milwaukee County towns and also a few which fell in Racine County, he retained the ownership of none. We are therefore in position to say that

²⁹ *Wisconsin Enquirer*, November 15, 1838, quoting the *Milwaukee Advertiser*.

³⁰ 26 Congress, 1 session, *Executive Documents*, no. 13. Testimony of Kilbourn as to land purchases at Mineral Point land office in 1836.

Kilbourn lent money to settlers to enable them to purchase their claims, but he did not use his command of money to coerce them into relinquishing lands to him after the plan suggested by John Catlin.

The second case is that of John Hustis, who is credited on the government books with having entered 1960 acres in the town of Franklin, besides a considerable number of tracts elsewhere. Mr. Hustis was a man of wealth and culture, a graduate of Yale and of an eastern law school. He later went to Dodge County, where he laid out the town of Hustisford, developed a water power, built mills, and became the patriarch of the place, known and respected for his fine personality and his learning as well as for his public spirit. He lived to the great age of ninety-seven, passing away in the year 1907 at Hustisford. At the time of the Milwaukee land sale he was still a young man, and it would seem as if he still had some things to learn in the matter of land selection, and very much in the department of practical psychology. Most of the Hustis entries are eighty-acre tracts—that is, one-half of a settler's claim. This fact suggests that he probably stood ready to advance money to pay for the settler's half on condition that the balance be relinquished to him. In a number of instances, however, he secured entire quarter-sections. So far the matter looks as if Hustis had been driving sharp bargains with the settlers, according to the Catlin forecast. But when one checks his selections against a soil map of the region, as was done for all his Franklin entries, it appears that the settlers had been playing tricks on the gentle young financier; for, in almost every case, his purchases were wholly or partially swamp land—so worthless, in fact, that the settlers did not want it. Hustis made no transfers to settlers, for

obvious reasons, and in 1846 he lumped off all his holdings to William Nelson.

I strongly suspect that some of the claims which Hustis entered were made by adventurous persons of easy morality for the express purpose of being relinquished to speculators, and this, with the circumstance that bona fide claimants disburdened themselves of lands which they could well spare and could not well use anyway, introduces a feature of speculation which is usually overlooked. There was doubtless a good deal of such petty "speculation," if one is willing to characterize it by no harsher term. The William Nelson mentioned above as the purchaser in 1846 of Hustis' holdings, secured a number of tracts which averaged better than those of Hustis. But he, too, found practically no sale for his lands till in the 1850's, when they gradually passed to settlers, probably in most cases for pasture or marsh meadow. Nelson is represented as a New York capitalist, who never came to Wisconsin in person but made purchases in several counties through agents. Being a large operator he was able to make the lucky purchases offset the unlucky ones, to which latter class the Milwaukee entries unquestionably belong.

The entries made by Eliphalet Cramer were of similar quality to those of Hustis and of Nelson. Cramer was the son of that Congressman John Cramer of Waterford, New York, who in 1836 and 1837 was associated with Daniel Webster in western land deals handled by Webster's son Fletcher. Eliphalet Cramer became a leading banker and business man of Milwaukee.³¹ He died in 1871 possessed of a great estate. But it is unlikely that his speculative transactions at the

³¹ His brother, William E. Cramer, was for many years the publisher of the *Evening Wisconsin*.

1839 land sale were responsible in any degree for his fortune.

In several of the Milwaukee County towns lands were entered to a considerable extent by Martin O. Walker. But, as did Byron Kilbourn, Walker immediately transferred his acquisitions, and in a majority of instances the transferees were the claimants of the land as recorded in the settlers' claim book. We are justified, therefore, in describing him also as a money lender and not as a land speculator.

George Smith, the most famous capitalist of the six noted, was a Scotchman. At the time of the 1839 land sale he was established in the banking business at Chicago. But within a few months he organized, with his Scotch friend and protégé Alexander Mitchell, the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company, the Milwaukee concern which later flowered into the great Mitchell Bank, the mainstay of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company and other vast enterprises. Smith was president of the insurance company, but Mitchell was secretary and managed its affairs at Milwaukee, while Smith remained generally at Chicago, where his interests were vast. Sometime prior to the Civil War he took up his abode in London. It was reported in 1893 that his wealth amounted to perhaps \$40,000,000, invested mainly in the United States, much of it in the two railways, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and the Chicago and Northwestern.³²

Mr. Smith's entries were mainly in Racine and Kenosha counties, where he located 10,010 acres, much of it in 80-acre tracts, the balance usually in 160-acre tracts. In Milwaukee County he acquired only 1440 acres. In every case these Milwaukee County entries

³² See article in *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 18, 1893.

were transferred by him to the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company, and we can safely assume that the other entries also became a part of that company's assets. Of the Milwaukee County tracts, which averaged well as to quality of soil, one quarter-section was ultimately deeded by the insurance company to the man who was the claimant of the tract at the time of the land sale. In two other instances the company deeded one-half of a quarter-section entered by Smith to the claimant. The other tracts, five in number, were deeded to others than claimants. But it can be readily ascertained, from the settlers' record, that the claimants of the tracts in question, with one exception, were interested also in other lands.

This analysis shows that Mr. Smith's operations cannot be classified on the one hand as strictly those of the accommodating money lender, as we have classified Kilbourn's operations; nor, on the other hand, as purely speculative. It seems clear that he made some loans outright, taking the land office certificate as security; but he evidently obtained the right to enter certain tracts for speculative purposes by buying and turning over to the claimant one-half his claim. Moreover, there are instances of his relieving claimants of surplus claims which they doubtless desired to turn into cash. All things considered, Smith appears to illustrate better than any of the others the type of transactions suggested in the letter of John Catlin quoted above, and since he was by far the largest purchaser of government lands at the Milwaukee sale of 1839, we must confess that speculation was not wholly excluded, though it was sharply restricted.

The land sale of February and March, 1839, was an event in the early history of southeastern Wisconsin,

from Rock River to the lake. That, roughly, was the extent of the Milwaukee land district, and all settlers in the four lake-shore counties, in Walworth and Waukesha, eastern Rock and Jefferson, were affected by it. The crowd collected at Milwaukee must have been stupendous. A large proportion of the settlers attended in person, notwithstanding their organizations enabled them to delegate to an agent the business of bidding in their land. While the newspapers fail to provide any detailed description of what was taking place, incidents remembered by those who were there and recorded at a later time reveal the presence of a great throng of buyers.³³

After the sale Wisconsin was no longer an experiment. It had suddenly become an established community wherein some thousands were owners of the soil in the choicest localities, having staked their all on the venture. They were a high type of state builders—mostly men and women of morality, intelligence, and industry, trained in the best ideals of American life. They came from New York, especially the western section of that state, from Vermont, to some extent from the rest of New England, from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan. The great body were of New England extraction, whatever their birthplace happened to be. This fact is brought out with special clearness by the census of 1850, where all names of members of families are given, together with their ages and places of nativity.³⁴ But, without furnishing detailed proof, the census of 1840, so far as it goes, confirms the testimony of

³³ Amherst W. Kellogg, "Life in Early Wisconsin," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vii, 489. The Kellogg boys sold five barrels of apples at sixpence apiece to the farmers at the sale.

³⁴ See the author's *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, chap. iii, "Pioneer Origins."

the newspapers, of most local historians, and of the next federal census, that the early settlers of the lake-shore counties were nearly all Americans with a small admixture of European elements. Ozaukee County, it is true, had a majority of Germans. That region was only beginning to be occupied, and the arrival in the fall of 1839 of a congregation of Old Lutherans who took up lands in the town of Mequon, though the number of families was only 43, gave them the lead over the other elements scattered through the county, to the number of 30 families. Most of the 30 families were Americans and English, but 4 or 5 were probably Irish and French. Racine County's census shows 643 family heads with names that certainly stand for English-speaking persons. How many are American and how many English cannot be ascertained. There are 40 other names, of which 22 are undoubtedly Irish, 8 French, 4 Scotch, 4 German, 1 Dutch, and 1 Scandinavian. Milwaukee, destined to become the leading German county of the state, was still in 1840 predominately English-speaking. There were 451 family heads who must have been Americans or Englishmen, 51 that were clearly Irish, 37 Dutch, 12 French, 8 Scandinavian, and 4 Welsh. The German heads of families numbered only 47, 4 less than the Irish were able to muster.

The summary for 1850 shows a preponderance of Americans in Racine and Kenosha counties, as would be anticipated, and a preponderance of foreign-born in Milwaukee and Ozaukee, a fact which will be more fully explained in the next chapter. The results by counties are as follows: Kenosha, total population, 10,735; native-born, 7332. Those born in New York and Wisconsin numbered 5196. Racine had a grand

total of 15,004, of whom 8868 were native-born and of these 6196 were natives either of New York or of Wisconsin. In that county Germans were the leading foreign element, numbering 1830, the English standing second with 1498. In Kenosha the Irish led the foreign contingent with 1209 persons, Germans coming second with 826. Milwaukee County's total, 31,078, showed 12,688 natives, 9154 of whom were born either in New York or in Wisconsin. The foreign-born majority were mainly Germans and Irish, the former with 10,069, the latter with 4347. Ozaukee County, already in 1840 foreign in its social complexion, was decidedly so ten years later. The aggregate population of her seven towns, as given in the Washington County census,³⁵ was 8236. The native-born numbered 2831, the foreign-born 5405. Of the latter, 3955 were described as Germans, the result being obtained by including under that designation the Luxemburgers. The Irish had the second largest number, 800. Wisconsin was the birthplace of 1554, New York of 812, a combined total of 2366, or all except 465 of the native population.

³⁵ Ozaukee was still a part of the county of Washington, but the census returns were given by towns, so that those within Ozaukee's present boundaries can be accurately ascertained.

CHAPTER V

THE FOREIGN-BORN

IT IS necessary, for practical reasons, to begin our study of racial stocks with those persons who were actually born in the countries indicated by their racial allegiance. All Americans have been but recently naturalized foreigners or the descendants of such; and many foreigners, on coming to America, blended so easily with their cultural surroundings that it would be absurd to regard their children as other than American. That is true not only of those who were English-speaking to begin with, but even of those who were obliged to learn a foreign language in order fully to participate in the life of the new environment. Many cases of Yankeeified Germans could be cited, and individuals of other foreign stocks manifested similar qualities of assimilability. The adaptable Irish were peculiarly susceptible to environmental influences, though in their case religion was something of a barrier to the complete acceptance of prevailing American cultural ideals. The English, Scotch, and Welsh had not that difficulty to contend with, and we shall find that in many respects these classes made common cause with the Yankees in Wisconsin, while in certain other respects they were less adaptable than the Irish. Scandinavians, though a non-English-speaking group, in the matter of assimilability resembled the Germans. They had to learn the English language, but being exclusively non-Catholic did not encounter the religious obstacle

which influenced a portion of the Teutonic immigrants. Foreigners mingling with middle-states or southern elements became hall-marked with the characteristics of those American types as others were with traits of the Northeasterners.

It is an axiom of American history that the life of the frontier was itself a dynamic Americanization process. Along the line of advance, where lands were being entered competitively by would-be settlers and by squatters, some of whom might be foreign immigrants but most of whom were Americans, the result was usually such an intermingling of the foreign-born with the natives, that practically the latter became the school-masters of the former and brought them quickly to such American ideals and habits of life as prevailed in new communities. Only where foreign groups settled together in masses, excluding American neighbors, was the assimilating process partly prevented or slowed down. The social history of these four counties promises an interesting commentary on the operation of these principles.

Immigration to the United States, restricted not by law but by a set of untoward conditions from 1806 to 1816, and of only limited proportions prior to that decade, became at once, after the close of the War of 1812, an important feature of American social and political history. In consequence, the government took steps, by special legislation, to ascertain the numbers, origin, and character of the foreigners arriving at the several ports. From the year 1819, when that law went into effect, we have definite though not necessarily accurate statistical information on immigration.

The summary of the official reports for the first twenty years, 1819-39, shows the influx during that

period of 666,883 persons of foreign birth. It is not known how many of those entering the country returned to their native lands, but probably the proportion was not very high. In the next ten-year period, 1839-49, the total of the arrivals was 1,427,337, or more than twice the aggregate for the first twenty years. More significant yet, the aggregate of incoming foreigners in the six succeeding years, 1849-55, was 2,118,624.¹ Thus it appears that the immigration movement into this country from Europe was becoming colossal in the period when the territory of Wisconsin was reckoned among the favored lands of the immigrant and homemaker.

During the entire period of thirty-six and a fourth years,² the influx amounted to 4,212,624, of which total the Irish furnished the largest single increment, the German the second largest, and the British the third. That, however, is not the order of the numerical importance of these three nationalities in Wisconsin. For, in 1850 that state had 38,000 Germans, as against 21,000 Irish and 19,000 English; while the census of 1860 makes the German contingent 124,000, the Irish 50,000, and the English 30,000. This is proof that influences were at work tending to mass here the German immigration of the period disproportionally to the other two leading foreign elements.

Some light is reflected on the situation from a statistical comparison of social elements in given towns of the four-county area. Following is a table of the results for the seven towns in Ozaukee County, of a study

¹ William J. Brownell, *History of Immigration to the United States* (New York, 1856), 16.

² The reckoning began with September 30, 1819; it closed with December 31, 1855.

PRAIRIE AND FOREST

GERMAN AND IRISH FAMILIES IN OZAUKEE COUNTY, 1850

Town	No. of Family Heads		No. Having Native-Born Children		No. of "Oldest Children" Born in Wisconsin		No. of "Oldest Children" Born in Other States		Average Age of Children Born in Wisconsin		Average Age of Children Born in Other States	
	German	Irish	German	Irish	German	Irish	German	Irish	German	Irish	German	Irish
Belgium	195	7	109	5	108	3	1	2	2.3	2.3	4	10
Cedarburg	100	114	54	94	45	47	9	47	2.7	8.7	10	9.3
Fredonia	100	26	52	10	52	2	0	5	2	1	..	9
Grafton	53	27	29	16	28	9	1	7	2.5	3	8	11
Mequon	310	38	172	28	165	16	7	12	4.3	3.8	7.5	11
Port Washington	148	27	77	9	73	4	4	5	2.5	1	3.3	7
Saukville	73	37	38	22	35	10	3	12	3	3.3	3	9
Totals	979	276	531	184	506	91	25	90	2.8	2.6	5.1	9.5

of the German and Irish families listed in the manuscript census of 1850. The definite points on which information was sought were (1) the number of families whose heads were natives of Germany or of Ireland, (2) the proportion of these families having children who were natives of the United States, (3) the proportion of those whose oldest native child was born in Wisconsin, (4) the average age of the first child born in Wisconsin, and (5) the average age of the first child born elsewhere in America. The tabular statement on the opposite page sets out the facts:

It shows that each of the seven towns had a strong German element, the number of families ranging from 310 in Mequon to 53 in Grafton; while the Irish element varied from 114 in Cedarburg, where it was larger than the German, to 7 in Belgium, where were 195 German families.³ The aggregate of German families for the county was 979, the aggregate of Irish families 276.

These totals reveal at once the relative strength of the German and Irish movements as directed toward this portion of the state. Despite the fact that more Irish than Germans were entering the United States, Ozaukee County received more than three German families to every Irish family settling there. Five hundred and thirty-one German families, more than half of the whole number, had children who were natives of the United States, and in 506 of those cases the oldest child was a Badger. In only 25 cases was it a native of some other state. This shows that, on the whole, the German emigration must have been very direct. The average age of the oldest native children of these 531

³ Aside from the Luxemburgers, who were reckoned separately in that census.

families was only 2.8 years. In Mequon alone, which received the earliest German settlement, in 1839, was the average over four years. As one would expect, the few "oldest children" who were not natives of Wisconsin were generally natives of New York, or of some other eastern seaboard state. Their average age was 5.1 years. The oldest native of Wisconsin was 12, while several of those born elsewhere were 13, and one was 15.

Turning to the Irish element, which was relatively strong in two of the towns, Cedarburg and Saukville, we find from the nativities of the oldest child in each of the 184 families having American-born children, that one-half of those families had lived in other states before coming to Wisconsin, and that the "oldest children" born in other states averaged more than three times the age of those born in this state. The conclusion is that among the pioneer Irish settlers of Wisconsin a heavy proportion were seasoned denizens of the United States, familiar with American social ways and political institutions. On the other hand, the Germans were newcomers, who by some means had been induced on landing to buy their transportation direct to Milwaukee or one of the other lake ports of our state. One of the results of this difference, coupled with racial differences between the Irish and Germans, was the relatively larger influence which the Irish exerted upon the politics of the new state.⁴

⁴ It is known that school fund loans, for example, between the years 1848 and 1853 were granted largely as political favors based upon the influence of the recipients. The Irish, with about 7 per cent of the state's population, won 13.5 per cent of all loans granted; while the Germans, with 12.5 per cent of the total population, won only 2.3 per cent of the loans. Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1920, 189.

Such are the facts; the explanation, though not quite on the surface, is still not difficult to find. First of all, the Germans, to a larger extent than the Irish, came to America as land seekers and they naturally selected those new regions which afforded the most hopeful opportunity to make farms. The Irish stopped wherever public improvements were going on which would furnish favorable conditions for labor during their early years in the country. Later, many of them too would seek land for farms. Wisconsin, from 1840, was for some years an emigrants' land of promise. Its excellent soil, exceptional transportation facilities, and good markets at the lake ports, its healthful climate and splendid drinking water, came to be household arguments throughout many sections of Germany in favor of Wisconsin as the home seeker's paradise. Add to these considerations the fact that Wisconsin was not debt burdened like most of her neighbor states, and held out the promise of light taxes; also that, after statehood, it offered in addition to the public domain a large body of low-priced state lands on easy terms, and we have a combination of attractions not easily duplicated elsewhere.⁵

All of these arguments cooperated to produce the mighty inrush of Germans into Wisconsin in the later 1840's and the early 1850's. Inasmuch as the earliest colonizing group, the Freistadters, had sent an agent in advance to spy out land in various states and territories preparatory to their coming, we can only infer that these people were influenced by approximately the same

⁵ Joh. Fr. Diederichs, "Letters and Diary," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vii, 218-237, 350-368; William Dames, *Wie Sieht Es in Wisconsin aus* (Meurs, Prussia, 1849), MS translation in Wisconsin Historical Library; Carl de Haas, *Nordamerika, Wisconsin, Calumet, Winke für Answanderer* (Elberfeld, Germany, 1848-49).

considerations. The company, an organized congregation of North German Old Lutherans, arrived in Milwaukee in October, 1839. The cause of the emigration was a Prussian religious persecution which had already resulted in the suppression of the worship according to the Old Lutheran ritual, and the imprisonment of a number of non-conformist pastors. Several of the persecuted congregations and parts of congregations united to form a church with Johannes A. A. Grabau, one of the most noted of the persecuted ministers, as their pastor. Thus spiritually girded for emigration, the allied groups to the number, it is said, of about one thousand, mostly from Magdeburg and its vicinity, formed a common treasury to which the wealthier members contributed for the benefit of the poor among them, chose officers for each emigrating party, and set out in five American sailing vessels. Their agent, Heinrich von Rohr, after inspecting various prospective situations decided on the neighborhoods of Buffalo, New York, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as the future homes of this people. It has been supposed that about five hundred came to Milwaukee. Some remained in and near the village, while the rest, to the number of forty-three families including 192 persons, with Pastor Krause at their head formed the new colony of Freistadt in the town of Mequon, Ozaukee County.⁶

⁶ The figures result from a hand count based on the manuscripts of the census of 1840. All family heads having German names were classed as members of the group and their families counted. We have been able provisionally to locate 30 families numbering 147 souls, in and near Milwaukee in 1840, most of them in the town of Kinnickinnic, the later Greenfield. Since tradition accounts for the presence of several earlier German families in Milwaukee, which were necessarily included in our count, I judge that the Old Lutheran immigration left there fewer than 30 families, perhaps not to exceed 20. I would place the aggregate

This being the first considerable group of Germans in the state, it is interesting to consider their manner of settlement. They are said to have studied with care the plats at the land office in Milwaukee before inspecting lands. This means, to be sure, that they had intelligent, alert leaders. Then, passing up the line of Milwaukee River, they selected in town 9, range 21 east (the town of Mequon), a tract of high rolling land, heavily timbered, well watered, and neighbored by an extensive marsh on the public domain which would furnish free hay and pasture. All the lands taken up by these people in the four sections in which they were chiefly concentrated were described by the surveyor as "second rate," but that designation usually meant, in timbered regions, that the task of clearing would be heavy, not that the soil itself was poor. All the sections had a heavy forest covering of sugar maple, birch, alder, black and white oak, ash, elm, ironwood, etc., together with some cedar in the swamps. The land lay on both sides of a creek along which was some meadow, but the big marsh was farther east.

It thus appears that the pioneers of the German immigration selected lands which, though fertile, were difficult to subdue. But, on the other hand, the location was within a few miles of Milwaukee, already recognized as the best port on the west coast of Lake Michigan north of Chicago, and as the future metropolis of Wisconsin; water powers on Milwaukee River guaranteed the erection of grist mills to grind their grain into flour for their families, and sawmills to utilize at least

of this immigration nearer 300 than 500. But see Kate A. Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, 299-334.

a portion of the superabundant timber to be felled in clearing their lands. A passable road was already established which could be improved into a satisfactory highway. Since some of their fellow immigrants remained behind, either as farmers located near the village or as craftsmen and laborers, nearness of the settlement to Milwaukee had a social aspect which grew in significance with the development of the German community in the metropolis. On the whole, while the opening of farms in the Freistadt colony was undoubtedly a laborious process, there were many compensations, to which the beautiful country homes of the present day bear eloquent witness.

It has sometimes been assumed that the German settlers preferred the forested locations to the open lands such as were to be found in Racine County. They did not select the forests in other portions of Wisconsin where open land and timbered land lay side by side and were procurable at the same minimum price. In such cases they pointedly chose the open or easily cleared land. Preference for such locations was expressed by German writers on the subject of Wisconsin's advantages as a place for German immigrants. The truth seems to be that Germans placed first among the advantages of a given location, after the fertility of the soil, accessibility of the market. They wisely refused to gamble on the chance that roads, railroads, and canals would be built into the interior, as required, for their special benefit. So they remained within striking distance of the ports till such transportation aids were either completed or were nearing completion, when they hesitated not to follow.⁷

⁷ Joseph Schafer, "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin Part I," in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vi, 125-145.

We have already seen how the best lands in Racine and Milwaukee counties were entered by claimant settlers or relinquished by such claimants to moneyed men at the land sale in February and March, 1839. This group of Germans, arriving in the fall of the same year, could not have secured government land or privately owned land in a compact body near the lake ports either to the south or to the west. Their one chance to settle as a community near Milwaukee, the port they preferred, on government land—which, owing to the pecuniary condition of most of their party, they must secure—was to take the forested lands lying north of the village. Even for these they were obliged to go some ten or twelve miles, for by the close of the land sale in February and March, 1839, the most desirable government lands in Milwaukee County had been entered and all had been picked over. Ozaukee, however, except a strip near the Milwaukee River, was still open to purchasers, and the lands having already been offered at the public sale could now be entered at private sale. The Freistadters made their selections and bought their land in October, 1839, being among the early actual settlers in that county.

The circumstances of their settlement are strikingly revealed by reference to the maps of land entries in the four counties and the statistics of entries which those maps exhibit graphically. The statistics show that there were no entries in Racine or in Kenosha County prior to 1838, the surveys not having been completed till 1836 and the government deferring the land sales till near the end of that year. Only 74 tracts in Kenosha and 66 in Racine were entered in 1838. Then, in 1839, chiefly at the big sale held at the Milwaukee land

office in February and March, 647 Kenosha County entries were made and 551 Racine County entries.

We have already called attention to the speculative entries made in Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties beginning in 1834 and 1835, the objects being town sites along the lake front, and water powers along Milwaukee River in both counties. The number of such early entries in Milwaukee County, largely about the village site, was 136, with 22 more in 1838. Then, in 1839, a grand total of 507 entries was made of lands in that county, engrossing most of the best prospective farm lands despite their heavily timbered character. In Ozaukee County, where there were many potential water powers on the Milwaukee, the early entries formed a belt along the river, following in many places the sinuosities of its course—as in Grafton, where the big bend from west to south takes place. The total of the entries in that county between 1834 and 1837 was 290, with only 9 more in 1838. The entry maps (Appendix) show how these were distributed. The number of new entries in 1839 was only 87. It is therefore clear that an abundance of space had been left in all of the Ozaukee County towns, so that these few entrymen, if farmers, as the Germans at least were, could locate their claims almost at will. The Freistadters chose precisely the types of land which they believed to be most advantageous from the standpoint of a colony planted within easy reach of Milwaukee.

As already stated, they were North German people, and their coming started something of a movement from that region, as the census returns show. But the Germans of the first great emigration (that which occurred in the period around 1850) were largely from the Rhine provinces. A canvass of the Ozaukee Coun-

ty census shows the presence, in 1860, of 2204 families whose heads were born somewhere in Germany. Of these the most numerous groups were the Prussians, 723 families; the Luxemburgers, 431; and the Saxons, 413. The Bavarians stood fourth with 188 families, then came the Hessians with 90, the Hanoverians with 67, the Mecklenburgers with 60, and the Württembergers with 44. There were also a few families from Baden, Nassau, Hamburg, Austria, etc. It is certain that many of the so-called Prussians were from the Rhine provinces, but those in the southern part of the county were mainly from North Germany, while the large number of Saxon families represents also the movement of North German Protestants.⁸ With the exception of the Luxemburgers, all these German elements were found also in Milwaukee County. There, however, although the Prussians were leading, the Mecklenburgers had the next highest number of families, with Saxons third and Hessians fourth.⁹

There was a tendency for families from the same German state or province (*landsleute*) to settle near each other. One example in Ozaukee County is the Luxemburgers, who occupy a large portion of the town of Belgium, together with contiguous portions of the adjacent towns of Fredonia and Port Washington, thus constituting a virtual colony. These people began to arrive in 1844, many of their land entries dating from the years immediately following. The map page 356 shows that nearly all the lands in the town of Belgium were in private hands by 1849.¹⁰ Other cases are those

⁸ See papers in the Roeseler Collection, Wisconsin Historical Library.

⁹ This statement applies only to the area outside of the city of Milwaukee. See chart of population elements for 1860, p. 390-391.

¹⁰ In 1845, fifteen families settled at the place later known as

of the Saxons in Mequon and Port Washington and the Mecklenburgers in Milwaukee Town. Prussians being numerous everywhere, it seems probable that Old-World neighborhoods of these people were represented in a number of towns. The largest aggregate of Prussian families was in Mequon, where we noted the planting of the North German religious colony in 1839.

In Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties, where Germans constituted the largest element, the census takers in 1860 were alert to the importance of specifying their birthplaces with particularity; but those of Racine and Kenosha counties failed to do this consistently. Accordingly, we are able merely to note the aggregate of German families, but not to segregate the Prussians, Saxons, or Hessians, in the towns of those counties. In Kenosha City 105 German families were massed in the second ward, in Racine 263 such families lived in the third and fourth wards. Four of the rural towns in the former county—Wheatland, Brighton, Somers, and Paris, in that order—contained appreciable aggregates of German families. Wheatland had 115 in a total of 203 families in the town; Brighton had 66, Paris 41, and Somers 44. Two rural towns in Racine County, Burlington and Caledonia, also had a large proportion of German families.

Since the Yankees and other early comers had a perfect opportunity to engross all those lands, it will be instructive to seek out the conditions under which the Germans, and to some extent the Irish—for they are

Holy Cross, where J. Weiler, the first Luxemburger to enter that region, gave land for a church. The location of the colony in this part of Ozaukee County was due to advice given Weiler by Archbishop Henni. Letter from J. H. A. Lacher, dated November 16, 1925.

found in considerable numbers in the same towns—intruded themselves into the region occupied mainly by native Americans. The first point to notice is that in the first two of these towns the lands were merely picked over by the early comers, 28 entries being made in Wheatland and 42 in Brighton in 1839, while in the former more entries were made in each of the years 1842 to 1844 than in 1839, and in the latter more were made in 1842 and 1843 than in 1839. This shows that, for some reason, the Yankees did not want these lands as badly as they wanted, let us say, those of Mount Pleasant in Racine County or Pleasant Prairie, Kenosha County, and most of them were left for others to take.

In Paris and Somers, and in Caledonia, a much larger proportion of the entries were of early date. The numbers of such entries were, respectively, 134, 134, and 187. Nevertheless, there remained in the three towns many tracts which were taken after 1841. In Paris the entries run 29 in 1842, then 10, 12, 19, 24, 8, 7, 5, and 1, making a total after 1841 of 115, the last in 1850. In Somers there were fewer left—13 in 1842, then 13, 4, 4, and 2 (total 36), the last of the year 1846. That, also, was the year when the last lands were entered in Caledonia, where only 38 entries were made after 1841. The census of 1860 shows the presence in Paris of 41 German families and 26 Irish, in Somers 44 Germans and 19 Irish, and in Caledonia 150 Germans and 54 Irish. It is clear from these statistics that only in Paris was it possible for these two elements to obtain government land in suitable amounts after 1841, and that many of these families must either have entered earlier than 1842 or else bought lands of private owners. The Irish could, in part at least, have taken lands con-

temporaneously with the Yankees. But the chances are against the supposition that more than a very few scattering German families did so. Most of them probably bought privately owned lands, and it is possible to throw some light on the types of land they selected.

The soil map of the town of Paris is crossed from north to south, through the middle sections (2 and 3, 10 and 11, 14 and 15, 22 and 23, and 27 and 26) by a broad lobe of Clyde clay loam; there is also a subsidiary narrow belt of the same soil and of Clyde silt, entering the town of Yorkville to the north and following the Des Plaines River southward. It will be found that nearly all of the German families and a number of the Irish were cultivating those heavy soils in 1860, and there is little doubt that the incentive was the low price at which the original entrymen, whether speculators or farmers, were willing to part with them. The story is a somewhat similar one for the town of Somers. The heavy soil along Root River in the western part of the town was farmed largely by Germans, as was to some extent the low land along the meandering course of Pike River. However, the ownership plat fails to account for the number of German families found in the town by the census taker, which suggests that a considerable number were at that date renters, destined no doubt to become owners later.

The case of Caledonia, where the census showed the presence in 1860 of 150 German families, is peculiarly interesting. We find there that the German element is planted thickly along the northern part of the town, in the upper two ranges of sections. The inference is that social considerations resulting from the nearness to the towns of Franklin and Oak Creek, German towns in

Milwaukee County, had much to do with the matter. The added circumstance that most of the German purchases fall between the years 1846 and 1859 (most largely between 1846 and 1855) strengthens the supposition that the Caledonia German element represents an expansion of the settlement from Milwaukee as a center. The lands were nearly all good, and doubtless brought a good price. But the accessibility of the market both at Racine and at Milwaukee made them especially desirable, so that German immigrants who had money to invest were induced to buy out the original Yankee or Irish owners and make permanent farm homes there. Probably a number of families were renters, for we do not find the proper number among the landowners. A goodly number of Bohemian families lived (1860) in part scattered among the Germans, in part grouped several families together on adjacent farms.

The town of Burlington, Racine County, like Wheatland and Brighton, its neighbors, was touched only lightly by the Yankee immigration of the late 1830's and early 1840's. A grand total of 110 entries was made by 1841. But thereafter the succession of years, to 1855, saw new entries made regularly, the numbers running 56, 48, 34, 52, 32, 19, 17, 12, 5, 2, 3, 4, 1, 1. The plat reveals the fact that Germans entered lands freely during most of those later years, taking the tracts which had been passed over by the first settlers, especially the heavy soils in low lands near the small lakes in which this town abounds.

The census affords no direct help toward determining the previous training or occupations of those who settled on the land, all such of course being described as farmers. Still, since many German immigrants found

employment for a time in the city prior to moving onto farms, something can be inferred from the occupational status of the Germans in Milwaukee. A hand count of that element according to the census of 1850 shows the presence there at that time of 1165 craftsmen as against 461 common laborers. In addition, 248 could be classified as business men and 45 as professional men. A good many of the craftsmen and laborers, as well as the other classes, owned their own homes; some of the business men were possessed of considerable real estate in addition to their personalty, and there were a few capitalists whose properties were valued at from \$20,000 to \$50,000.¹¹

The testimony of German writers on the character of emigrating parties helps to fill out the picture. Says William Dames, writing in 1848 of those on shipboard with him:¹² "The passengers belong to diverse stations in life. Of the prosperous and well-to-do order there are only a few, but likewise equally few from the very poor class. Farmers and young craftsmen make up almost the entire number. There are several merchants and two of the learned class. The sexes are divided about equally." The German emigration from the Rhineland was mainly caused by the uneconomical character of farm holdings. Through the legal subdivision of farms among heirs the average holding had so greatly decreased as to render it, in thousands of instances, quite unequal to the reasonable requirements of a family. The news that ample lands, well located, fertile, and in every way desirable, could be had in Wisconsin for \$200 a quarter-section fell on listening

¹¹ Joseph Schafer, "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin, Part V," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vii, 151.

¹² *Wie Sieht Es in Wiskonsin aus.*

ears and roused hundreds to decide in favor of emigration. And when such a decision was made by one rural family others in the neighborhood were apt to follow as well as their connections among the craftsmen in the towns, who were likewise mainly of rural origin. All such can be looked upon as choice, and rather specially trained, settlers for the new state. With the revolution of 1848 came an added motive for emigrating, which brought to Wisconsin and other American states a goodly number of educated German "liberals." But there can hardly be a doubt that economic factors, among which these untoward agricultural conditions held an important place, were at all times the dominant forces controlling the German movement into Wisconsin.¹³

Continuing the German-Irish comparison, the 1860 census shows several Irish neighborhoods both in the northern counties of our group and in the southern. Attention has already been called to the large aggregate of Irish families (111) in Cedarburg, Ozaukee County, and the relatively large number (76) in Saukville. More than half of the Irish families of the county were massed in those two towns. Milwaukee County illustrates a more uniform distribution of Irish, five of the seven towns having from 57 to 84 families. These towns were Franklin, Granville, Greenfield, Oak Creek, and Wauwatosa. In only one, however, was the proportion of Irish to aggregate families higher than 1-5, while in Cedarburg it was almost 1-3.5. The most pronouncedly Irish settlement in Kenosha County was in Brighton, while in Racine County, Dover and

¹³ Cf. Kate A. Everest Levi, "Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 341-393; and Kate A. Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, 299-334.

Caledonia had each an appreciable number. The fourth ward in Racine had 88 Irish families as against 141 German, 37 British, and 38 American.

The Irish in this area, unlike the Germans, do not appear consciously to have formed colonies. They were disseminated rather widely and in varying proportions among the population, and it looks as if it may have been largely accidental that more of them settled in certain neighborhoods than in others. No doubt there were several causes in operation, such as the public improvements in Milwaukee and elsewhere, the opening of railway construction activity, etc., which attracted them to the region, while available public lands here and there explain their settlement. They filtered in at different times, and each family bought lands as it was able to do so. Elsewhere in the state, as in the town of Highland, Iowa County,¹⁴ were to be found settlements made up almost exclusively of Irishmen. These, in some cases at least, were formed by immigrants recently arrived in the country and drawn to the locality by employment in railway construction, which would assimilate them to the character of the German settlements made by newcomers in our four-county strip.

The number of persons of Irish nativity in Kenosha County in 1850 was 1209, but of that total only 656 were in the rural towns, while 553 were in Kenosha City. In 1860 the persons of Irish nativity in the same rural towns numbered 718, which represents only a slight increase in ten years. Rural Racine County in 1850 had 609 Irish; in 1860 the same towns had 645. Milwaukee towns, outside of the city, in 1850 had 1305, in 1860, 982. The summary for Ozaukee in 1850 is

¹⁴ Schafer, *Wisconsin Domesday Book, Town Studies I* (Madison, 1924), 59ff.

800, and 743 in 1860. Thus the rural sections of these four counties lost 282 Irish residents in ten years, and this loss all took place in Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties. The two southern counties gained 98. The Irish were a relatively fluid population element. As they came to Wisconsin from other states, so they emigrated freely from their new homes in these counties to newer counties in this state, or to other states. In this respect they resembled the American Yankees. Like the Yankees, the Irish were not willing to devote their lives to the heavy labor of clearing a forest-covered farm unless there were obvious compensations, and these were found only partly in the economic result of the process. These people were ever willing to go farther and find land which could be converted into farms on easier terms, and they were keen to do so unless social conditions in the environment suited them. Then they bent to the task, slashed, grubbed, and broke up new land, extending their fields as rapidly as the best workers of any other derivation. But they were not fond of neighboring with people of alien speech, even if these were brethren of the same religion. The more rapid disappearance of Irish families from the northern counties than from the southern would seem to be related to that peculiarity of the Irish race. Where the Germans tended to predominate, the Irish gradually withdrew.

By contrast with the Irish, the German population of Kenosha County, outside the city, was 582 in 1850 and 1211 in 1860; in Racine it was 1155 in the first year and 1655 in the second; in Milwaukee 4111 in the first and 6506 in the second; and in Ozaukee 3955 and 4929, respectively. These figures show that, in the four-county strip as a whole, while Irish rural settlers were giving

way before the Germans the latter were making head against the original English-speaking occupants of the southern counties, Yankees and others. The Germans stayed where they planted their farm homes, gradually subduing the forest or draining the marshlands for fields, irrespective of who their neighbors were or what their social opportunity. They had done the same in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other states where they settled earlier. The emigrating German usually, not always, made but a single new home. If this was in a Yankee settlement, well and good, his children became Yankees. If it was in a German community, they were apt to remain Germans. That is why, unlike the Irish, those Germans who came to Wisconsin were generally fresh arrivals from the Old World rather than American-experienced Germans from other states. Second-generation Germans, however, furnished a share of the emigration from Wisconsin to other states and territories farther west, just as many such were among the emigrants from more easterly states to Wisconsin.

Norwegians began to arrive in Wisconsin about the same time as the Germans. However, the earliest settlements of these people were made just outside the boundary of our area. Gradually they spread over and into certain districts, like the towns of Norway in Racine County and Port Washington in Ozaukee. The numbers increased very little if at all in the ten-year period between the sixth and seventh censuses, though in other counties people of Scandinavian birth were building up strong communities. Their history can be presented more appropriately in connection with the story of Rock or of Dane County.

Racine County was the pioneer home of Wisconsin's Welsh element. Griffith Richards, who seems to have

been the path-breaker for his people, came to the town of Mount Pleasant in 1840, making a farm and gathering about him other Welsh immigrants who followed not in organized groups, but as families and individuals. A church was founded and a community life developed. In 1850 there were 91 persons of Welsh nativity in the town of Mount Pleasant, while the rest of the county, outside the city of Racine (where were 285) had but 58. Some had spread south from Mount Pleasant into the town of Paris, Kenosha County. Pleasant Prairie also had a few. There was some increase in their numbers by 1860, but the immigration failed to become general and it was directed, in each important period of activity, to the portion of the state which was attracting attention at the moment. Thus, a Welsh settlement was established in Waukesha County about the village of Wales, another in Columbia County centered on Cambria, still another in Winnebago, and others in Fond du Lac, Waushara, Marquette, La Crosse, and Monroe.¹⁵ Some of the original Welsh settlers have representatives on their homesteads in Racine County at the present time. As a people they have proved themselves exceptionally persistent.

The same is true of the English, who, like the American Yankees, were attracted to the open lands of these southern counties because of the ease with which farms could be made there. Most of them, also, came as individuals and families either direct from the Old World, from some other American state, or from Canada. In one case, however, there was a concerted effort to colonize factory workers, which resulted in the English settlement near Rochester in western Racine Coun-

¹⁵ Schafer, *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, 34-35 and note.

ty. The history of this settlement has been told through the letters of Edwin Bottomley, one of its founders.¹⁶ There was a considerable group of persons from the islands of Jersey and Guernsey in Racine County, who generally passed as Englishmen. A few Scotch families were scattered over the counties. These came, like the English, mostly as individuals. There were also French, Dutch, Belgians, Swiss, and Canadians; but the numbers are in no case sufficient to call for particular remark, especially since none of these was a growing element.

The Bohemians, represented as settling in Caledonia, were a growing element. Their epic remains to be written. But it is known they began to arrive at Racine about 1855, and by 1860 there were in the town of Caledonia, Racine County, 95 families, while the rest of the four-county strip had but 80 families and the entire state outside of the strip only a negligible number. The Racine center of that racial group became important because of the leadership which developed there, particularly through the establishment in 1860 of the first Bohemian newspaper in America, *Slavie*. Carl Jonas, who became editor of *Slavie* soon after its founding, was for many years a literary leader of the Bohemians in America, while in Wisconsin he became a political power as well. The spread of Bohemians westward in the state was rapid during and after the Civil War, while in the 1870's they began that significant movement toward the prairie West which aided in building up the noteworthy Bohemian settlements in Nebraska, Iowa, and the Dakotas.¹⁷

¹⁶ M. M. Quaife (ed.), *An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin* (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xxv).

¹⁷ Ferdinand F. Doubrava, "Experiences of a Bohemian Emigrant Family," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, viii, 393-406.

CHAPTER VI

THE SELECTION OF FARM LAND

THE record of land office entries, when studied in the light of the topographic, vegetation, and soil maps of our four counties, throws much light on the actual process of land selection by immigrants into Wisconsin in the early days.¹ The principles governing the selection of land by settlers are partly general and partly special. Price, which is usually the most important general consideration, is excluded from this study because all public lands were secured at the uniform rate of \$1.25 ("ten shillings") the acre.² Other general considerations were location with reference to the future market—in these counties the lake ports (Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, Port Washington); and, subordinate to this, location with reference to existing and potential means of reaching the market, which in practice meant existing and prospective country roads. A fundamental consideration, already discussed, was the question all settlers had to answer, of whether to take up woodland or prairie.

The answer turned sometimes on men's belief in the superiority of forested land as land;³ usually, however,

¹ For plats of land entries and soil maps, see Appendix.

² There is one exception. The government's reserved even-numbered sections of the canal grant lands were sold at the double minimum of \$2.50 per acre, which proved a drag on their sale. See *Town Studies, I*, Introduction.

³ Many Yankees had this belief until the virtues of the prairie lands had been thoroughly tested. There are known cases of Eng-

any such predilection was overbalanced by the prospect of the severe labor involved in clearing, so that when forest-covered land was selected the reason commonly lay either in its advantageous location, in the dearth of open-land choices, or in the pecuniary situation of the purchaser, who might be forced to settle in the woods to save the expense of building material and fencing. Near the lake ports, also, the chance of steadily earning something while clearing one's own land, through the sale of fuel wood and other forest products, influenced many immigrants in their selection of homes.

Nearly all roads were still to be built at the time the land was absorbed by settlers. The Chicago-Green Bay road had been surveyed and partly improved. It paralleled the lake shore through our strip, running at the distance usually of several miles from the beach. When settlements were formed this road was given a modified course to make it touch the port towns. Other roads were mere trails, but some of these were an important resource to those who established homes in the woods.

In choosing a location there was no guaranty of being on or near a permanent highway, even though existing trails ran through a settler's door yard; for roads were apt to be changed in any community at the will of the majority, at the whim of local officers or even of ox-teamsters. Where the best trail was, there the permanent road was likely to be, and the best trail was only rarely located by engineering experts. More commonly it was hit upon after an aggravating process of practical experimentation—"trial and error." What

lish settlers leaving Racine County and taking farms in the heavy woods of Richland County in response to this prejudice. No doubt it influenced Germans as well.

the settler needed was a way over high, well-drained ground, which would enable him to draw freight from his farm to the market port. The pioneer custom was to run the public roads along the glacial ridges wherever that was possible. The great "ridge-road" through western New York ran for many miles along the high line above the old lake beach. In Ohio, in Iowa, in Michigan, Illinois, and other states, as well as in Wisconsin, many modern highways are memorials of the same custom.⁴

As already indicated, in our lake strip the glacial ridges generally trend north and south parallel to the beach, the streams flow in the depressions between successive ridges, and not infrequently portions of these depressions are swampy. Usually the low-lying areas are narrow, while the ridges are broad, constituting to the farmer a broken road or, in effect, no road at all until a way to cross the lowlands was either found or made. In the selection of lands the depressions were often a determining factor. No one cared to place a boggy strip of lowland between his farm and the port if it could be helped. He could afford to drive several miles north or south along the ridge, rather than risk forty rods of miry road. But if the swale was narrow, and a number of farmers depended on a crossing, an artificial grade would surely be built and the depression in effect abolished.

The special considerations affecting land selection were the uses to which lands were to be put. If those had been as numerous and as diverse as at present, land selection would be a complicated problem to investigate. Fortunately for our purpose, farming in the early days

⁴ The old military road from Fort Winnebago to Fort Crawford (State Highway 19) is a good illustration in Wisconsin.

of Wisconsin was a comparatively simple and uniform industry. Most settlers wanted to obtain land which would raise good crops of wheat, together with subsidiary grains, oats, hay, etc. Farmers who settled on the prairie were eager to raise a large area of wheat at the earliest practicable date. They also wanted to provide for livestock, for which they required pasture and hay land, and corn land. Everybody was glad to have at least a small tract of timber. Accordingly, as previously stated, the ideal basis for a farm was prairie or open upland, well drained and almost or quite ready for the breaking plow. Supplementary to this should be a wood-lot, and low prairie for natural meadow and pasture. Most farms benefited from a portion of low land, but if the depression was either very broad or very wet it would be shunned by the first settlers, to be taken by later comers or gradually incorporated in adjoining farms. But peat and muck swamps were left in the government's hands for many years.

In terms of the soil survey map, the prairie land of first quality for cultivation was the Carrington silt loam, Carrington clay loam, Waukesha silt loam, Waukesha loam, and Waukesha fine sandy loam. The moderately wet phase is represented by the Clyde silt, Clyde clay, and Clyde fine sandy loams. The swamps are peat bogs or muck. Much of the Clyde soil was tillable with only surface drainage; the balance required thorough underdrainage as the condition of its successful utilization otherwise than for its native grasses. When too wet, it, like the peat, was apt to be passed over by early comers.

Of forest covered soils the Miami silty clay loam is the standard type, varied with the Miami silt loams and the Miami fine sandy loam. All of these are usually

well drained, tillable soils, though slight problems of drainage sometimes affect their cultivation. There are some small areas of sandy soil in the lake-shore area.

For convenience, we have reduced the twenty-six varieties of soils as reported by the survey for Kenosha and Racine counties, to five more inclusive divisions which can be indicated in black and white for reproduction in connection with our plats showing the land entries of the several towns. By comparing the map of entries with the map of soils, the relation of the latter to the problem of land selection can be ocularly demonstrated.

An outstanding example of retardation in land selection due to bad drainage over a large continuous area is in the town of Paris, Kenosha County. The broad belt of Clyde clay loam crossing that town from north to south makes a pattern which is not, indeed, reproduced on the land entries plat; but if the observer will allow for the absorption of low wet natural grasslands and wooded swales by the occupiers of adjacent well-drained farm lands, it will be seen that it was the wet, heavy character of the soils which delayed from five to ten years the entry of many tracts in this region.

Due south, in the town of Bristol, is an area of delayed occupation in the southwestern corner of the town. Settlers in that area would have placed between their farms and Kenosha, first, a broad belt of peat land; second, the low, wet lands of considerable breadth along the Des Plaines River north and northeast; third, the very formidable stretch of peat along the Des Plaines to the eastward, in the town of Pleasant Prairie. North of section 30 in Bristol the lands, being desirable prairie soils, were entered promptly. Farmers there could find a way out to the Kenosha market by

traversing high ground except for a few rods at the river. It should be noted, however, that the southwesternmost corner (about two sections) of Bristol was both wooded and wet. Also, that the Miami soils (wooded) and the Carrington (prairie) were nearly always chosen indifferently provided the lands were of equal quality. The timber was usually light, however, and often contiguous to prairie areas needing timber.

Brighton and Salem constitute a challenge to the inquirer from the fact that, as the plat of entries shows, early selections and delayed selections were there intermingled in a peculiar, mottled fashion. The lands of Salem township, however, were much more largely entered in the earliest years than were those of its northern neighbor. The soil map reveals the reason for this difference, in the larger aggregate of peat in Brighton and the way it is intermingled with the more desirable soils. There are dry prairie soils to a considerable extent too, but these are so separated and dissected by depressions that blotch the surface, as to render even the prairies less desirable than they would be where their size and form were more favorable. Nevertheless, most of the usable prairie soils in the township were taken up in the first period. There was not more prairie, strictly so-called, in Salem, but combining the Carrington (prairie) with the Miami, which was lightly wooded in that region, the resultant area of desirable soils is larger in the total and of more ample body than in the township to the north. They were all taken in the earliest period of entry. All sections containing appreciable areas of peat were left for deferred entry.

Passing to the westernmost towns of Kenosha County, Wheatland and Randall, one finds indicated a condition very similar to that in the Brighton-Salem

area. This the plats will make clear. Northward in Racine County the outstanding feature is the town of Norway, where the early settlements hang around the fringes of the great peat marsh. In Yorkville the Miami and the Carrington soils went first, and entries were halted at the Clyde clay loams, of which there were considerable tracts rendered more formidable by the tentacles reaching out from the main mass. The Yorkville soil plat can be studied with special profit in connection with the plat of entries, as can also the Mount Pleasant plat.⁵ An interesting problem is presented by the town of Raymond, more than one-half of which was promptly taken solidly, while the balance, aside from some pickings of prairie and oak openings, was left for a few years. The ragged belt of Clyde clay is the determining feature. Caledonia, a town with almost exclusively good land—prairie dotted with oak groves, and oak openings covering wide areas—was nearly all taken up by settlers at the first opportunity. The Clyde soils there were not often too abundant for the grassland needs of the farmers. "Dover mud" is a byword in Racine County. This is enough to explain the settlers' shyness about taking farms in that town.

In Milwaukee County the great areas of Miami silty clay loam which cover most of the south half of the county were all desirable lands, save for the heavy covering of forest. The same was true of the Miami clay loam, which is the most prominent soil feature north of the Menomonee River. The gravelly phase of the same soil is a less desirable type, while the level phase is roughly equivalent to the Clyde loams of the southern

⁵ See Schafer, *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, 34, for a study of entries in Mount Pleasant.

counties, good for meadow and pasture but somewhat defective for tillage. The same is true of the low, level Miami silt phase, of which a prominent lobe in the town of Wauwatosa lies on both sides of the Menomonee River. Actual swamps, like the long one running south through Lake and Oak Creek towns, the lesser one along Root River in Franklin, and others in Wauwatosa and Granville, together with small patches of peat, were definitely undesirable.

East of Milwaukee River is a belt of varying width called Superior clay loam. This soil is so heavy, cold, and difficult of tillage that it should be distinguished in point of desirability from both leading types of the Miami soils.

For the purpose of simplification we have remapped the soils of Milwaukee County under five classifications. The first is the Miami silty clay loams and the Miami clay loam; the second, the Superior clay loam; the third, the several types of extra level, low, somewhat wet, but otherwise excellent soils; the fourth, the marshy lands; and lastly, the gravelly phase of the Miami clay loam, which is practically a rough, morainic area of no great extent, and Plainfield sand. The small areas of Carington silt loam are included with the Miamis. Practically, we distinguish in this way the first-class tillable soils, the second-class tillable soils, the third-class tillable soils, the wet grass lands and swamps, and the absolutely infertile lands.

From the standpoint of their timbered character some variation occurred despite the generally heavy forest covering. The towns of Franklin and Greenfield had most of the oak openings, strictly so-called, to be found in the county, and the former had the only prairie area. Wauwatosa, however, had "open woods"

in the western two tiers of sections and also in the second and third tiers from the east line.⁶ It is clear from the plat of entries of the town of Franklin that its lands were considered highly desirable. All except the positively swampy soils were taken at the earliest opportunity, which was the land sale in February and March, 1839. Greenfield lands had a similar history, also those of Lake. In Oak Creek the pattern of the big swale reappears partially in the entry plat. In Granville the indicated reluctance to take up even the rolling Miami clay soils in the northwestern and southwestern portions of the town seems to be related in part to the problem of transportation. We have, in addition, with respect to the even-numbered sections in the southwestern part of Granville the influence of the canal grant in delaying formal purchases by reason of the double price on the government's reserved sections. The same influence was operative in the town of Wauwatosa, giving to the plat of entries in that town a wholly artificial appearance of delayed occupancy.⁷

Ozaukee County soils have been mapped by the Geological Survey more recently than those of the other counties. Forty-four distinct types have been distinguished therein. Two of these predominate: east of Milwaukee River, to the lake, Superior clay loam, which is the same as the Superior clay loam of the corresponding portion of Milwaukee County; west of the

⁶ These facts are revealed by the surveyor's notes, the primary source for our knowledge of the wooded character of the land. See, however, Professor Chamberlin's comment on the generality of that source, *ante*, p. 10, note.

⁷ It is by no means certain that the dotted areas in those sections were without occupants, although they prove that no title had passed. Many preëmptors had settled on the canal lands and, when the company failed to build the canal, these people simply refused to purchase until the old price was restored.

river, the Miami silty clay loam and its variants—Miami silt loam, the Bellefontaine series of sandy, silty, and gravelly Miami loams. Interspersed with the predominant type east of Milwaukee River are appreciable bodies of Superior silt loam and Superior silty clay loam which are somewhat deficient in drainage. The same is true, more emphatically, of the Clydes, Maumee, Fox, and Wabash series. From these we pass to the more distinctly wet soils—peat and Poygan clay. These may be considered, for first settlers, undesirable.

As already pointed out, however, considerations other than the agricultural value of the soil governed the early entry of lands in Ozaukee County. A glance at the plats of entries will make this clear. The belt of white stretching nearly all along Milwaukee River testifies to the keen rivalry among speculators to engross every potential water privilege on that the best power stream in our area. Similar coloration reveals the interest in lake-front lands, notably near the prospective port in the town of Port Washington. For the rest, while most of the farm lands were taken up late, comparisons with the soil map will show a general conformity with the principles of selection previously discussed. It becomes clear at once that Mequon was the only town which was settled by farmers contemporaneously with the towns of Milwaukee County. Cedarburg and Grafton were occupied in the second period, 1842-45, while the lands of Fredonia and Belgium passed into private hands mainly between 1846 and 1849. The determining factor seems to have been the problem of transportation to Milwaukee. Mequon was definitely a part of that city's trade area, while the more northerly towns were somewhat distant for easy communication from farm to market.

CHAPTER VII

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

WHOEVER begins a new farm is by force of circumstances a creative worker. For, although he may not produce much in the way of crops, yet, by liberating some of the imprisoned forces of nature, he makes the earth permanently fit to produce more than formerly. In a word, he brings about a betterment in man's condition. Frontiersmen instinctively recognized the farm-makers as contributors to the sources of human welfare when they called their work upon the land "improvements."

The fundamental first improvement was a cleared, fenced, and newly broken field; but log houses, barns, wells, roads, and bridges, all fall within that description. The charm of frontier life, offsetting its social deprivations and the cumulative burden of its toil, lay mainly in the joy which accompanies creative effort. When we marvel at the amount of stark physical labor performed by many of the pioneers, native and foreign, we need to remind ourselves that these men knew they were not mere laborers. They felt a vague kinship with explorers, inventors, scholars, soldiers, statesmen—in short, all men whose minds, bent on bringing some new thing to light, gladly endured pain, hunger, and an access of weariness in the eager pursuit of an ideal objective.

To the pioneer the ideal was a made farm, or at least a farm so far made as to afford a self-supporting

home. It was the goal of the family, quite as interesting to the wife and the children as to the husband and father. When the pioneer's ax rang in the clearing and trees crashed merrily to the ground, when leaping flames devoured the slashings, when the breaking plow crunched its uncertain way through the raw and rooty soil, it was a family's prospects that hung upon the outcome. And often enough the family's mounting hopes were depressed by the dread of that failure from which they were now trying permanently to escape. The memory of bad crops "back home," of flood, or fire, or sickness; the oppression of debt and the impersonal heartlessness of collectors—all these ideas and experiences entered into the emotional history of farm-making on the frontier. The pioneer who could respond to a poetic impulse would have read a deep meaning in the lines Kipling puts upon the settler's lips:

Here, where my fresh turned furrows run,
And the deep soil glistens red,
I will repair the wrong that was done
To the living and the dead.

Timothy Flint was doubtless right when he wrote: "There is more of the material of poetry than we imagine, diffused through all classes of the community."¹ To him, going west to make a new farm was quite as much a way of satisfying the innate craving for romance as it was a process dictated by economic necessity. Few, he thought, aside from the Germans, emigrate with the sole aim of acquiring better and cheaper lands. Had he known the Germans more intimately he would have recognized a poetic element in the intensity with which they pursued the ideal of creating permanent homes on the land, a point in which they differed from the Americans. The Scandinavian novelist Knut

¹ *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826), 241.

Hamsun, winner of the Nobel prize with his *The Growth of the Soil*, presents in Isak a type which might stand for the German settler as well as the Norwegian. To many of the Americans the treadmill routine of life, on farms fully made, became unendurable, while the idea of moving and beginning over had no terrors for them. We speak of the days when practically all farm work was hand work, when cultivating was with the hoe, mowing with the scythe, reaping with the sickle or the cradle, binding and husking with the fingers, pitching with the two-tined fork. No relief could the harassed farmer find from the compulsory program of toiling "the livelong day" in order to eke out a livelihood for the family. With the advent of machinery those conditions have changed. Farmers now not only labor less relentlessly from day to day, gaining immeasurable relief through the use of power-driven substitutes for hand labor, but they find it possible to take occasional vacations from their farms, as the office man does from his ledger.

The farmer, especially the northern farmer, of ninety to fifty years ago enjoyed no vacations. The young man took his bride home on their wedding day and thereafter the weeks, months, years for both husband and wife were filled with toil, which was partially relieved only by occasional neighborhood visits, by church attendance, and the usual winter evening diversions of the rural countryside. Many a man had his first real vacation in the form of a month's trip into the West to look up a new location or in carrying out the program of moving and resettling. The process aroused latent energies and ambitions; it created a fresh interest in life. If mental forces could be measured, we should find a feeling of revolt against an uninteresting exist-

ence one of the important causes of migration and re-settlement.

In coming to a land like the lake front in Wisconsin, which afforded a variety of locations, what choices would the immigrants make? In 1834 a writer in the *Rochester Gem*² described the actions and sensations of a typical Yankee land seeker on nearing the scene of his future habitation. He enters an oak opening, gazes delightedly about upon trees, grass, and the shade-flecked earth, muses upon the ease with which it could be brought under cultivation; in short, the prospect pleases him. Still, having come thus far, he is bound to look farther before deciding on his future farm, and he finds himself next in a dense forest. "As he enters a deep gloom passes over his mind and he is for a while wrapped in a pleasing state of melancholy. On either hand the tall forest trees are waving over his head. He sees the difficulty that will attend its proper cultivation—he acknowledges the superior worth of its soil over every other kind of land, but the love of ease still prompts him to proceed and, emerging from the gloom of solitude, he beholds a wide-spread prairie in all its native loveliness—his eye feasts on one of nature's fairest works. The scenery is such that no pen can describe, pencil paint, or tongue express! . . . He sees it covered with rich verdure, spread out like a wide sea, with now and then a small spot of timber like islands on the bosom of the ocean. . . . He now resolves to make this his own,—his dearest home."

In the actuality pioneers were more practical than this writer credits them with being. The prairie, studded with clumps of trees, like "tufted islets" in a shoreless lake, was indeed to many the most beautiful

² November 22. Essay signed "Miami of the Lake."

aspect of such a land as Wisconsin. But to the prospective farmer life on the open prairie had its drawbacks as well as advantages. On such land he could make field as rapidly as his breaking team would turn the sod, which, traditionally, was at the rate of one and a half to two acres per day. But the fields required fencing, for which timber was necessary, before crops could safely be planted; and against the approach of winter the pioneer cabin must be replaced by a well-built log house, which ought to stand in the shelter of an ample grove. For fuel and farm timber there would be a permanent demand, and a few logs for making lumber were both a convenience and an economy. Accordingly, wherever practicable, timbered land was usually selected for a portion of the proposed new farm, say a fourth or a third, the balance being prairie or oak openings. If a tract of wet prairie—a slough or marsh—could be included, that would make the location ideal, for the combination of well drained plowland, hay land, and timber was what every one wanted. Even near the lake shore, in Racine and Kenosha counties, the larger prairies remained in the public domain some years after all the timbered lands with the prairies adjoining them had been taken up. Men from the well-wooded regions of New York, New England, Pennsylvania, and Ohio hesitated to build homes on the big, open, exposed prairies.³ They finally came to it, and then they found that, with an additional money outlay for house lumber and for fencing, such situations could be made thoroughly desirable.

In Racine County, township 4, range 22 east, constituting the main part of the town of Caledonia, appears to have been taken up with least hesitation or debate

³ Schafer, *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, 35-37.

about the quality of the soil or the relative advantages of one location as against another. With rare exceptions, all the subdivisions of that township were entered, at the earliest opportunity, in 1839. When the comparison is made with the town of Mount Pleasant directly south, and with Raymond and Yorkville in the next range west, the explanation emerges clearly. Caledonia was a town which had timber so well distributed over its surface that the settler could take land anywhere without being marooned on the open prairie. Over most of the area the soil was good or second-rate, a few swales and marshes alone being unfit for cultivation. These areas were not taken up at once; all the rest went as rapidly as the land office could execute certificates. On the other hand, Mount Pleasant had a large area of excellent prairie land which was shunned by settlers two, four, in some cases six, years; and a similar statement would cover the cases of Raymond and Yorkville as well as the balance of the fertile open country in Racine and Kenosha counties. The westernmost towns in both counties, because portions of the surface were rough and much of the rest swampy, were picked over discriminatingly, a piece being entered here, another there, while much land remained without takers for a number of years.

In general it must be said that the Yankee settlers of the lake-shore open lands were excellent judges both of soils and of locations. They took the cream of the land at the first skimming, and since very few non-agricultural holdings occurred in that region to interfere with development, and market conditions were favorable at the lake ports, the settlers prepared to build up their farms without delay.

Immigrants to the two southern counties must have been nearly unconscious of the speculator's existence. No serious attempt was made by moneyed men to bid in lands desired by settlers, which they could find the means to pay for, though as we have seen George Smith bought many tracts with the settlers' consent. These would later be sold to settlers, and in the meantime their purchase by Smith doubtless provided money to enable settlers to buy the lands they were momentarily most anxious to secure.⁴ Some of the bona fide settlers bought more lands than they expected to use in their farming operations, hoping to dispose of the balance at a profit to later immigrants. This type of farmer-speculator was found almost exclusively among Americans; foreigners generally looked upon land as something to be used for home making and not as an object of barter and sale. There was also the type of "squatter" who was unprepared to make a farm or even to enter more than a forty- or eighty-acre tract of land, but whose hope was to make his beginning in one place pay so well as a marketable venture that he might soon go elsewhere, and on the proceeds of the sale of his claim and clearing start a real farm.

All varieties of speculation were better represented in the two northern, wooded counties than in the open lands of the south. In the first place, the survey of townships along the lake shore, above the Milwaukee River (in the Menominee cession) occurred as early as 1834, when the rage for speculation was still unabated. No agricultural settlers had as yet come in and, in fact, the heavily wooded area was not wanted for agriculture at once, when settlers began to arrive. But Milwaukee village was begun, a sawmill was built in 1834, and all

⁴ The case of George Smith is the most striking, See *ante*, p. 78.

keen-eyed speculators were looking for favorable power sites along Milwaukee River and also good sites along the lake front. Accordingly, when those lands were offered at the land office in 1835 and 1836, they were eagerly taken by business men instead of by farmers. The list of entrymen for the town of Milwaukee, the part of Mequon east of the river, and the town of Saukville reads like the roll of what might have been the Chamber of Commerce of Milwaukee supported by a few distinguished visiting delegates from the rival town of Chicago and by a land office official or two. The largest single holder was Gurdon S. Hubbard of Chicago; but Daniel Wells, Jr., W. Newberry, W. B. Slaughter, W. B. Ogden, G. E. Denniston, W. Buttles, and others held considerable tracts. A number of Milwaukeeans had ventured on smaller purchases, most of which are dated in 1835. While it was reported that the lands had been "claimed" by settlers preparatory to their purchase, there is little doubt that the improvements made upon them were of the flimsiest sort.⁵ Perhaps the well-known frontier devices of blazing a few trees, or laying four sticks to outline the foundation of a cabin, were employed by the majority of these claimants. A cabin which could be laid up in a day was regarded everywhere as a valid initial improvement for establishing a claim.

The effect of speculative original entries upon the history of actual settlement is shown rather well in the town of Mequon, Ozaukee County. That town occupies the whole of township 9, range 21, and the fractional township 9, range 22, the latter being a narrow strip along the lake shore, the former a symmetrical township divided north and south by Milwaukee River.

⁵ *Green Bay Intelligencer*, June 27, 1835.

The lake-shore fractional sections were carefully picked over by speculators in 1835. The rest of the lands, far the largest part in area, were taken up by actual settlers about ten years later, in 1845. In the full township, where it does not appear that any of the land had been entered by speculators, nearly all was in the hands of cultivators by 1842 and most of it by 1840, numerous entries dating from 1839.

Saukville is another town where speculators operated in 1835 to 1837. There, also, the process of private absorption of left-over lands was slow, lasting in some cases till 1853, though most of the subdivisions had been taken up by 1846. Town 8, range 22, and town 7, range 22 (the town of Milwaukee) were seized upon, to the last quarter-section, in 1835. Other towns in Milwaukee County remained unsurveyed until 1836. Their lands were entered with reasonable promptness, though much remained till after the great land sale of 1839. Surface and soil conditions affected the occupancy of these lands, as they did all others, but there was little or no speculation to complicate the problem.⁶

In the midst of a large amount of shifting ownership, which during the early years went on at a prodigious rate (much of the wooded land passing as partly improved farms from American to German hands), the process of farm making went steadily forward. During several years the pioneers of the lake shore found their principal market in the demand for food supplies, seed, and stock feed on the part of the hordes of immigrants who entered at the lake ports and either found homes in their immediate neighborhoods or struck for

⁶ The effect of the canal grant was the same in the Milwaukee County towns of Wauwatosa and Granville as it was shown to have been in Brookfield. See *Town Studies I*, 11.

locations in the interior. In due time the shipping facilities at the lake ports (Milwaukee, Racine, Southport [Kenosha], and Port Washington) were developed to the point where they could handle the produce of the shore counties and in addition take care of the hinterland. That development is a story of building piers, wharves, warehouses; seeking appropriations for harbor works and lighthouses; projecting public roads from the ports inland; organizing companies for the construction of plank highways; and finally, as a continuing interest of indefinite expansibility, planning and building railways. Wisconsin was settled precisely at the transition point—the zero hour, so to speak—between the canal age and the railway age. It had one luckless project, which was the legitimate offshoot of the canal building activity in New York and especially in Ohio. This was the plan for the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal, a work fully outlined on paper, which engrossed the public interest for a number of years, but which resulted in nothing but trouble for the company, the territory, and the settlers. Its principal effect on the four lake-shore counties, aside from attracting settlers, was to create a stubbornly complicated problem for the purchasers of lands in the canal grant, stretching across Milwaukee County, and for the state legislature in dealing with the settlers on those lands.

The principal market crop produced by the settlers in early Wisconsin was wheat. It was, in fact, the ease of making farms for wheat growing in the open lands of the southern counties which induced the rapid settlement of those and adjacent areas. American farmers in Vermont, western New York, Pennsylvania, and even Ohio at this time were experiencing what Wiscon-

sin farmers experienced in the next generation—a sharp decline in the profitableness of wheat culture owing to the meagerness of the returns from their land. In place of the bumper crops of 25 to 40 bushels, for which the Genesee valley had once been famous, they often had to be content with 8 or 10 bushels or less to the acre. The soils were not exhausted, and could readily be restored by a change in the system of farming, by substituting a variety of crops for the staple wheat and by employing livestock to consume the bulk of the product and return to the land in fertilizer what had been abstracted from it. Many northern farmers, however, were wedded to the habit of wheat-growing, as their southern contemporaries were wedded to cotton or tobacco. As the latter deserted their old fields for the fresh, fat cotton lands of Alabama, Louisiana, or Texas, so the former, when they found their wheat crops failing, were attracted to northern Ohio, to Michigan, Indiana, or Illinois, and finally Wisconsin, where the finest wheat land could be had for a song in locations convenient to that transportation system of which their grand canal was the essential link.⁷ The prices for wheat at Milwaukee and the other lake ports were simply the Buffalo and Rochester prices minus the comparatively slight cost of carriage through the lakes under a sharply competitive steamer and sloop service.⁸ Naturally, settlers in the lake-shore counties, who were all within a few miles of the ports, had a distinct

⁷ See on this subject Schafer, *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, chap. iii.

⁸ For wheat prices at Milwaukee 1858 to 1904, and at Chicago 1840 to 1904, see John Giffin Thompson, *The Rise and Decline of the Wheat Growing Industry in Wisconsin* (University of Wisconsin *Bulletins*, Economics and Political Science Series, vol. v, no. 3), Appendix, tables vii and ix.

marketing advantage over those who were located farther inland, and they were more independent of the artificial aids to transportation, like plank roads and railways, being easily able to transport their crops from the farm by wagon haul to the wharf or elevator.

Our first test of progress in farm making in these counties is the beginning of wheat raising and the gradual augmentation of the annual production of that cereal. The individual farms can be said to be made or still in process of making according as they do or do not produce wheat enough to insure a respectable income for the farm family.

Practical aid from statistics comes first in the United States census of 1850, which summarized crop productions for 1849. It shows, for that year, a total wheat yield in Racine County of nearly a quarter of a million bushels, or an average per farm of 216 bushels. Kenosha's record was more striking. That county had an aggregate of 927 farms as compared with Racine's 947, and a wheat yield of over 300,000 bushels. This makes an average per farm of about 320 bushels. One of the Kenosha County towns, Pike (afterwards Somers), had an aggregate of 44,000 bushels and an average of 518 bushels per farm of 43 acres cleared land; while the town of Wheatland (apparently rightly named), in the western part of the county, produced the enormous total of 70,000 bushels or 439 bushels per farm on 160 farms.⁹

In contrast with the statistics for the open-land southern counties are those for the wooded area of the

⁹ Kenosha County produced that year 29.6 bushels of wheat per capita, Racine 14.5 bushels. That tells something, though the discrepancy between the two counties in proportions of rural and urban population must be allowed for.

north. It proves to be impossible to disentangle the manuscript returns for Ozaukee County towns from those for the later separate Washington County; so we shall present Thompson's generalizations for Washington County, assuming that they represent fairly the Ozaukee County segment of that county. For the entire area of the later Washington and Ozaukee counties the wheat produced in 1849 amounted to 6.3 bushels per capita. This region having at least as small a non-farming population as Kenosha, it follows that less than one-fourth as much wheat was grown. Moreover, in Kenosha 4000 bushels of this cereal were produced, on the average, to each square mile of improved land, showing a high degree of concentration in the wheat-growing industry. The rate for Racine County was 2200 bushels. But for Washington it was 1845 and for Milwaukee 1100. We have definite figures for Milwaukee County, the record being 61,000 bushels from 1184 farms, or an average of only 51 bushels per farm.

It is obvious, from the above, that either the settlers on the forested lands were not wheat growers by habit, or else they had not yet reached that stage in their farm making when it was possible to devote an appreciable amount of land to that specialized line of production. I think the latter suggestion the more important. In only one town in Milwaukee County, in 1850, was the average amount of improved land equal to 41 acres per farm. The next highest was 36 acres, then 33, and the lowest was 22 acres. Roughly, the amount of wheat grown on the average farm rises progressively with the amount of cultivated land, the highest average being 85 bushels per farm in Wauwatosa, where the farms averaged 36 acres of arable. This was more than Franklin produced with 41 acres arable land, which may

show that the Yankees of Wauwatosa were more insistent on cropping their land to wheat than were the Germans and Dutch of Franklin. But the important fact is that the first cultivable acres on every farm must serve for a variety of productions—a little wheat for flour, some oats, a patch of rye and another of buckwheat, a few acres of corn, potatoes, and garden vegetables. Only after these irreducible requirements have been met can the farmer begin to concentrate on a market crop like wheat, and in the forested region, as compared with the open lands, that period came late. Doubtless Wauwatosa raised more wheat in 1849 than any other Milwaukee County town because the western part of Wauwatosa contained a quantity of land where the woods were open—practically oak openings. In that area some of the Yankee settlers (who were sure to find the open lands, because they came before the Germans and others) had from 50 acres to 95 acres under cultivation and were raising from 300 to 500 bushels of wheat. These farms brought up the general average. In the south, on the other hand, many individual farmers were cultivating from 100 to 200 acres, and their wheat crop not infrequently was expressed in four figures instead of two, as in the north. In the one case farm-making was easy, in the other it was a toilsome, slow process.

The cross-section survey for 1860 yields more definite results because the statistics are complete for all the counties. They show a reduced wheat production for the two southern counties, where the crop was much damaged in 1859, but those counties still held an enormous relative superiority over Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties. An average of 232 bushels per farm in the former makes a sharp contrast to the average of

66 bushels per farm in the latter.¹⁰ Other agricultural contrasts between the wooded and open sections of the four-county strip are suggested by the disparity in the wheat crop. The average size of the farms in Milwaukee County was 65 acres, and on this average farm the cleared and cultivated land amounted to 37 acres. Ozaukee's average farm contained 64 acres, of which 35 acres were arable. By contrast, Racine and Kenosha had farms which contained an average, respectively, of 116 acres and 120 acres, while the arable amounted in the first to 97 and in the second to 80 acres. Other inferences from the statistics are that the southern farmers possessed more than twice the northern farmers' value in livestock, that they were generously supplied with horses for farm work and driving, while the northerners—especially in Ozaukee County—continued to rely on oxen, and that their quota of farm implements and machinery was also notably larger. In a word, the southern counties had their farms made; the northern were still in the throes of making. The one region was developed, the other primitive.

Said a writer who gave the official description of Kenosha County in 1860 for the annual report of the Agricultural Society:¹¹ "Within the past ten years many fine and valuable dwellings have been erected all over the county. . . . The old pioneer houses are fast giving way before the march of improvement. Substantial and convenient barns and other outbuildings are taking the place of hovels and straw sheds." In the

¹⁰ Milwaukee towns averaged 75 bushels per farm, Ozaukee towns 57 bushels. The average of the two averages is 66 bushels. Kenosha's average was 262 bushels, Racine's 202, making the average for the two counties 232 bushels.

¹¹ J. M. Leland of Bristol. See Wisconsin State Agricultural Society *Transactions*, 1860, 297.

same volume Julius Tomlinson reports that Ozaukee County is about one-fourth under cultivation, on the average. Some towns, two in particular (Mequon and Belgium), are more than half cleared, two others have "not one-eighth cleared land. . . . And the last year there have been not less than 40,000 cords of wood shipped from the county."¹² The county being so young, there was as yet "little, if any, of what is called, in older localities, *high farming*." Kenosha grew over 25 bushels of wheat per capita, Ozaukee 6.7 bushels. The former grew 2070 bushels of wheat on every square mile of arable, the latter 1053. It must be added, however, that Ozaukee County produced an appreciable quantity of rye, which was peculiarly a German farmers' crop, and Milwaukee a less amount, while that grain had little vogue in the southern counties, its place, statistically, being taken by corn, of which Milwaukee also grew a little and Ozaukee decidedly less.

The picture of the four-county strip which one obtains, from all sources, is that of an agricultural community characterized by frontier conditions in Ozaukee, and similar conditions modified by close contact with the city in Milwaukee County. The other two counties presented most of the aspects of a prosperous, well developed, and self-sufficing rural neighborhood, with large farms, good houses and barns, herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, and a large surplus of horses and colts. It compared not unfavorably with western New York or northern Ohio.¹³ Its people had made the stake for

¹² Wisconsin State Agricultural Society *Transactions*, 1860, 313-314.

¹³ At a much earlier time James Corydon Howard of the town of Lake, Milwaukee County, declared that the lake-shore region in Wisconsin was less "frontier" than were St. Lawrence and Lewis counties, New York.

which they had come west, and were inclined to take their ease, to remove farther west, lured by fresh wheat lands, or to change to a livestock economy. The northern farmers were still bending all their energies to the farm-making process, still clearing, breaking, grubbing—extending their insufficient arable against the stubborn forest, hoping at last to make their farms pay a surplus over the bare necessities of the family.

Before 1869 the production of wheat in this area ceased to be an index of agricultural prosperity, which was based more on a diversity of crops, on livestock, and dairying products. There was as yet no specialty.¹⁴ The census notes, in a somewhat rough way, the value of the productions of the farms; and these, summarized, enable us to compare the counties and towns with one another. Racine County towns (nine in number) averaged \$1019 per farm, and the eight towns of Kenosha \$1199. As against these rather generous returns, the seven towns of Ozaukee County averaged only \$492 per farm and those in Milwaukee \$846. Thus the south was still far ahead in its agricultural development. But we have reached the turning point. From 1870, under the influence of several factors, notably a concentration of effort upon dairying, the north gradually overcame the handicap entailed by the forest, and with its lands largely cleared and cultivated began to forge ahead. The production statistics for 1879 reduce very materially the discrepancy between the sections. They show that the nine towns in Racine had an average income of \$710 per farm, the eight towns of Kenosha had \$892; against these, Milwaukee County had \$660, and Ozaukee's seven towns \$583.

¹⁴ In some areas, as for example, Bristol, Kenosha County, the growing of flax had considerable vogue for several years.

Permitting a quarter-century to pass and taking our next cross-section view from the state census of 1905 (whose statistics are for 1904) we obtain a very different showing. The nine towns of Racine County showed an average farm income of \$909, the eight towns of Kenosha \$1087. But Milwaukee County's average had risen to \$767, and Ozaukee's to \$883. The interchange of leadership in the two northern counties, combined with the comparative nearness of their incomes to those of the southern farmers, prepares us for the revelations of the last census, giving the figures for 1919. These confirm the relative decline of Milwaukee as an agricultural county, many of the farms there being little else than rural homes of urban people, and they reveal a healthy upward trend of incomes for the farmers of Ozaukee County. Racine and Kenosha counties were still nominally in the lead. The average income for all farms in Racine County was \$2615, in Kenosha \$2734, while in Ozaukee the average was \$2181. Milwaukee County trailed far behind with an average of \$1468.

The returns for 1919 indicate dairying as the most important single source of farm incomes in all the counties. In Kenosha the average income per farm from dairying ranged from \$1994 in Wheatland to \$722 in Somers, the average for the eight towns being \$1428. Since the average farm income from all sources was \$2734, dairy products would account for about 48 per cent of the total income. There was a system of compensatory productions, those towns which had the smaller dairy incomes having larger crop incomes. For example, Somers, with \$722 from the dairy, derived \$1704 from crops, mainly sugar beets (\$587) and onions, cabbages, peas, and beans (\$683); Wheatland,

with \$1994 from the dairy, drew but \$64 per farm from crops. Other livestock productions also varied. Ozaukee County towns averaged \$1258 from the dairy in an aggregate income from all sources of \$2181. Hence dairying accounts for over 57 per cent of the whole. The Milwaukee County record was complicated and rendered non-comparable by the fact that one of the towns (Lake) had an average of only \$591 per farm, due, of course, to the circumstance that this is not in reality a farming town but a suburban town. The same is true, though in less degree, of all the other towns of that county, save Granville and Franklin. In Racine towns with an average farm income of \$2615, \$1254 or 48 per cent was made from the dairy.

In view of the importance of the dairy interest in all of these counties, it is interesting to know the plane on which it is carried on as well as the average results. Perhaps no test of the character of that industry is quite as revealing as average production per cow. This shows whether or not dairymen are scientific and businesslike, and it measures the possibility of further development in the industry itself. From that standpoint the palm must be given to Ozaukee County. Average production there, in 1919, amounted to the handsome figure of \$119 per cow. Milwaukee stood second with \$114, Kenosha third, \$112; Racine was at the foot of the list, with an average of \$103. The highest town average was in Wauwatosa, Milwaukee County, \$141 per cow. Caledonia, Racine County, stood second, \$135 per cow, and Franklin, Milwaukee County, third, with \$134.

The survey of production values in the four counties would fall short of the truth if it failed to take note of the persistent difference in the size of farms in the

southern counties as compared with Ozaukee. Of the 1383 farms in Kenosha County in 1920 more than a third, or 488, contained between 100 and 174 acres, while 155 farms were in the next larger class, 175-259 acres. Racine's total was 2215 farms, and of those the two classes contained 603 and 158 respectively. On the other hand, Ozaukee with 1727 farms had 485 in the class embracing 100-174 acres and only 69 in the next class. Were size of farms taken into the computation, it would be found that Ozaukee's production record was at least as good as that of the southern counties. That is to say, her farmers derive no less income per hundred acres of farm land than do those of Racine and Kenosha counties.

But there is still another comparison which needs to be made. In Ozaukee 1540 of the 1727 farms were operated by the owners and only 160 by tenants. Kenosha's condition in this respect is revealed by the figures 872 owners and 474 tenants, Racine's by 1697 owners and 475 tenants. Since, customarily, every tenant-operated farm has to support two families, it is clear that the farmers of Ozaukee County enjoyed a more ample income than did those of the erstwhile opulent counties to the south.

Also, it should be pointed out that on the smaller farms of Ozaukee County the labor of the family itself was apt to suffice, while in the agriculture of the southern counties a large amount of hired labor was required. Here is another drain upon the family income. On the whole, it may be safely concluded that farmers are better off in Ozaukee now than in either Racine or Kenosha County. The woods farms have come into their own after nearly three generations have expended their toilsome industry upon them.

Insight into present-day farming conditions in these counties may be gained from a kind of bird's-eye view of the country itself. The casual traveler can observe that there no longer exists a difference between the north and south on the score of the "primitive" in agriculture or in the living conditions of farmers. Everywhere is evidence that the lands are in a high state of tilth. Crops as seen from the wayside in the proper season are bountiful, the herds generally good to excellent; the houses and farm buildings uniformly give proof of the permanence and success of the operations carried on by the farmers. Such a hurried general inspection seems to confirm the testimony of the census that Ozaukee has become the leader of the group in the purely dairying industry. Men familiar with the agriculture there report twenty-five pure-bred Guernsey herds in the county and a larger number of Holstein herds. There are (or were in June, 1924) four testing associations to which about 100 of the 1700 farmers belong.

The county of Kenosha has recently developed a considerable number of Guernsey herds (about thirty-five), having previously for some years concentrated upon the Holstein breed. But until near the end of the nineteenth century that county retained the early partiality for the Durham. This means that milk and beef have been traditionally joined together. There is little interest in testing, only about twenty-five farmers being members of the testing association. Most dairy-men sell whole milk and raise only a portion of the stock required for replacement. In two of the towns, Somers and Pleasant Prairie, there is much trucking, especially in the production of cabbages and of onions and beets. The cabbage growing industry is more widely diffused

over the county than the growing of the other vegetables. These specialties, though they often bring considerable additional income to the towns, lessen the interest of farmers in dairying both in that county and in Racine. It seems probable, therefore, that the farmers of Ozaukee County, by their strict and almost exclusive attention to the problem of obtaining good cows and handling them in the best way, are destined to emulate the success of the New Glarus farmers, who in 1919 made an average farm income of over \$5000.¹⁵

The farm labor problem is less acute in Ozaukee County than in Racine and Kenosha counties. In Ozaukee it is still customary for the children of farmers to be content with farm work in the main, though some have been tempted to seek profitable employment in factories. In the two southern counties the movement to the factories on the part of young people whose homes are in the country has become very strong. "Farm boys and girls," says a Kenosha County writer, "are not choosing an education which fits them especially for rural life, but for the city with its shorter hours and assured pay. The country home is up-to-date with its R. F. D., its telephone and its radio; but its occupants are wage earners in the city who appreciate the low rent in the country. . . . Each year adds to the number of those who dwell in the country but work in the city. Concrete highways lead to Kenosha and thence to all lake shore cities. Many drive their own cars to the city daily. . . . Owing to the short-hour jobs in nearby factories, it is well nigh impossible to employ farm hands. It is only those incapable of holding a factory job that will consider farm labor. Wives and daugh-

¹⁵ *Town Studies I*, Appendix, table vi.

ters who formerly helped with the milking and other chores or in the hay-field in a pinch, no longer do so.”¹⁶

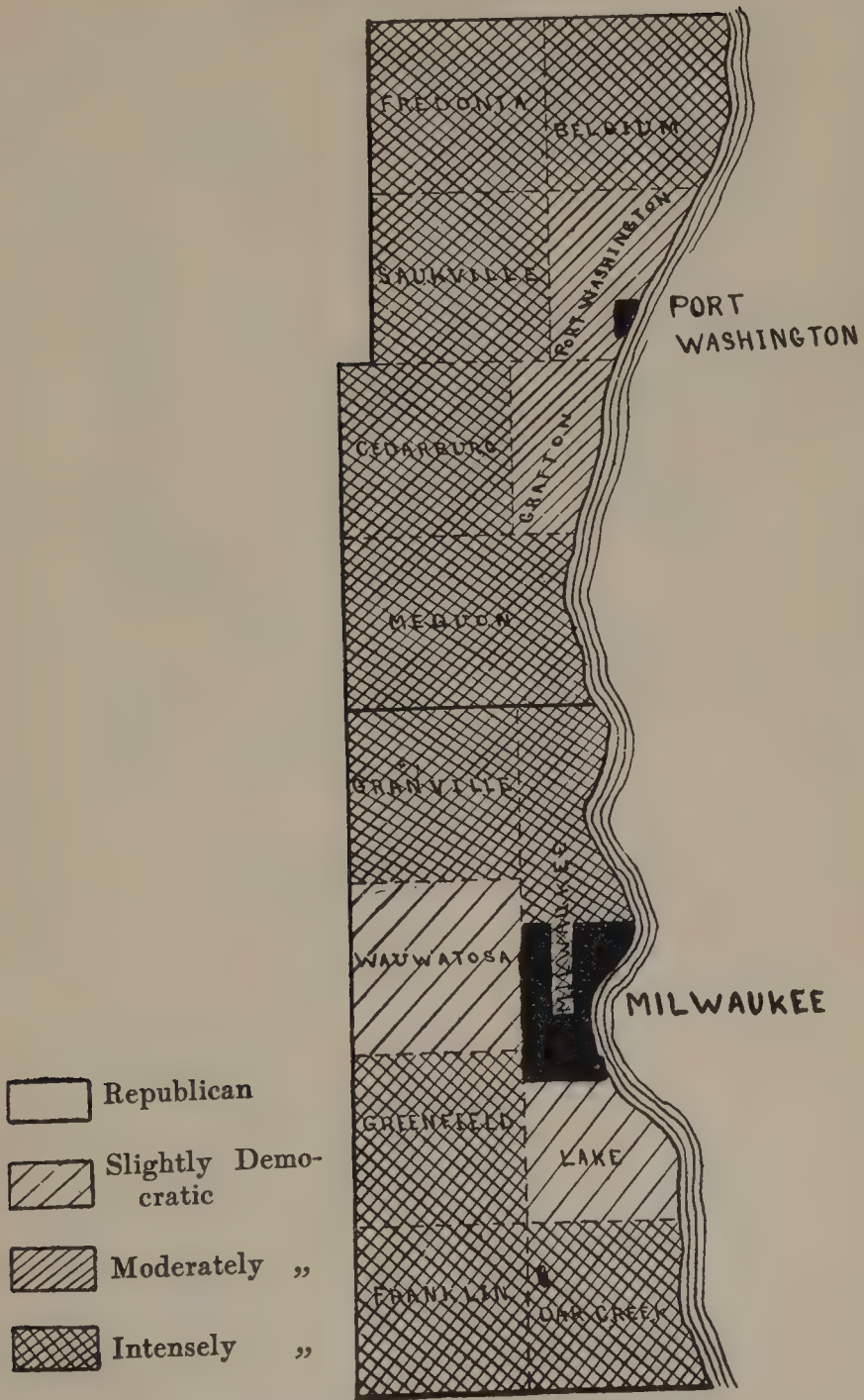
¹⁶ Olive M. Hope. Report on the town of Salem, Kenosha County, MS in Wisconsin Historical Library.

CHAPTER VIII

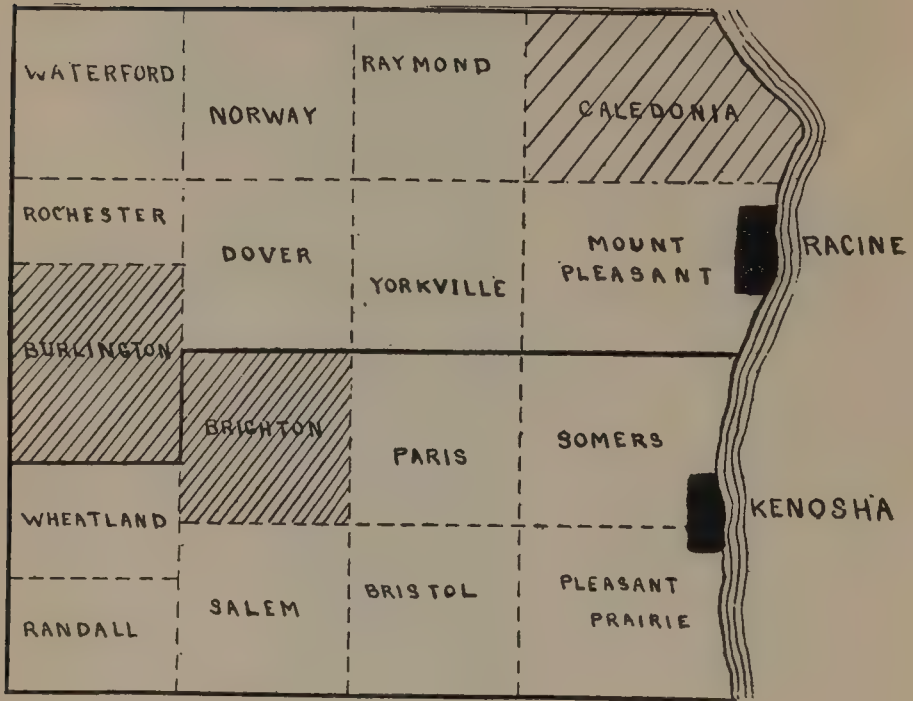
POLITICAL HISTORY

THE returns, by precincts, of the presidential elections held in Wisconsin have been printed in the *Blue Books* from 1860. Prior to 1856 no detailed statements were sent in from local election districts, the reports being mere summaries of the results for entire counties. But the vault of the Secretary of State's office contains the county returns, by precincts, for the election of 1856, and since the precincts in the rural areas were in all cases the towns themselves—so far as the four counties under discussion are concerned—it has been possible to map the results in a satisfactory manner.

From the map p. 141-142 it will be seen how the area divides between the Democratic electors pledged to Buchanan and the Republican electors pledged to Frémont. The almost solidly plain area of the two southern counties shows that those counties, Racine and Kenosha, had Republican majorities in nearly all precincts. The other two counties have no precinct area untouched, all being lined to indicate Democratic or Buchanan majorities. The chart p. 390-394 indicates, in figures, the extent of the Democratic majorities in the northern counties, and in the several precincts. It shows, for the towns in Ozaukee County, Democratic majorities ranging from 188 in Fredonia to 397 in Mequon. Port Washington had the highest minority of Republican votes, 121, Grafton standing



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 1856
(Continued on Opposite Page)



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 1856

(Continued from Opposite Page)

second with 116. Belgium had only one Republican vote, as against 348 Democratic votes. The aggregate of Republican votes in the seven towns was only 360; while the aggregate of the Democratic votes was 2032. In other words, there were more than five votes for Buchanan to every one for Frémont. In Milwaukee County, omitting the city, the aggregates were: Republican, 667; Democratic, 1805. In the city—where, also, every ward went for Buchanan—the totals were 2131 and 5384 respectively. Thus the two northern counties were solidly Democratic.

Turning to the south, we find the fourth ward in Racine City Democratic, also the so-called "Town of Racine," which was essentially a suburb. Only two of the rural towns, Caledonia and Burlington, showed Democratic majorities. But the totals for the county were: Republican, 2299; Democratic, 1688. In Kenosha County all city wards and all rural towns save Brighton gave Republican majorities. In Brighton the Frémont vote was only 55, as against 106 for Buchanan. The totals for the county were: Frémont, 1508; Buchanan, 831.

The reader will already have surmised that the reason for this remarkable political divergence between the northern and the southern pairs of counties lay in the contrasted character of their predominant populations. The chart p. 390-394 makes that point clear by showing the racial origins of heads of families. Now the number and identity of family heads are roughly equivalent to the voting lists; not quite, for in some precincts were found a number of unattached adult males, all of whom may have been, and some of whom doubtless were, voters. In the rural precincts, however, that element was almost negligible.

Beginning our study of the population elements with the northeasternmost town of Ozaukee County, we find that, according to the census taken in 1860, Belgium had not a single family head who was of English-speaking stock. The heads of families numbered 400. Of these, 220 were Luxemburgers, 64 Prussians, 54 Dutch, and 27 Belgians. There were also 15 Bavarians, 7 Württembergers, 6 Frenchmen, 2 Hanoverians, 2 Austrians, 1 Saxon, 1 Pole, and 1 Hamburger. The total vote cast in 1856 was 349, of which Buchanan received 348. It would be interesting to know what person cast the single vote for the gallant pathfinder, who, whatever may be thought of him now, in that day aroused sufficient enthusiasm to carry the state of Wisconsin by a good majority. It may be suspected that the vote was cast by some vigorous Prussian Forty-eighter whose love of liberty was an ideal for which he was willing to fight in America, as he had fought at home, and who was capable of regarding his neighbors' views with the serene contempt which is not less common among that class than it is among Yankees or Englishmen. Such conduct brings its own reward, or punishment, as the case may be, but often it is precisely what is needed to compel the opposing majority to reconsider the grounds of their belief. At all events, the lonely vote of 1856 seems to have been prophetic; for in the election of 1860 Belgium gave Lincoln 114 votes as against 259 for Douglas. But then, perhaps, the leader died. For no such Republican vote was again recorded in that town for more than a generation, and it looks as if a hundred or more of the Belgiumites had simply been stampeded. Also, there is a vague local tradition of "ballot stuffing," which may refer to this incident and explain it.

In Cedarburg, where the vote in 1856 stood 3 for Frémont and 374 for Buchanan, the heads of families (census of 1860) numbered 394. The largest single group was the Germans, of whom there were, all told, 258. The next group in point of numbers was the Irish, of whom there were 111. A few Bohemians and Austrians, a Scandinavian, a Swiss, and half a dozen Britons and Americans make up the total. The Democratic vote, 374, is exactly 8 more than the combined total of German and Irish heads of families, as that number stood in 1860.

The other towns of Ozaukee County show more diversity in population elements and less uniformity in the vote. But in each case the Irish and Germans (including the Luxemburgers) were more than sufficiently numerous to account for the Democratic vote. On the other hand, the American and British heads of families combined give numbers strikingly in harmony with the Republican minorities. In Fredonia there were 27 Frémont votes, and 42 American and British heads; in Grafton, 116 Frémont votes and 61 such heads, together with 10 Scandinavians; in Mequon, 31 American and British heads, while the Republican vote was 61; in Saukville 37, plus 9 Scandinavians, the vote being 31; and in Port Washington 120, with 30 Scandinavians, and a Republican vote of 121.

It must not be forgotten that our population figures are from the 1860 census, while the vote we have been considering was cast in 1856. Could we know the exact details of the population in 1856, the correspondence between family heads, racially grouped, and the recorded vote might be yet more interesting.

The rural towns of Milwaukee County follow the tendency observed in Ozaukee. The proportion of Re-

publican votes in all cases was higher, ranging from 32 in Franklin to 215 in Wauwatosa, but in every case the town was Democratic and in every case the majority vote was less than the aggregate of the Irish and German family heads together with other non-English-speaking foreigners except Scandinavians. And, on the other hand, the Republican vote tallied remarkably with the numbers representing English-speaking family heads (aside from Irish), reinforced by the Scandinavians.

That the Scandinavians were disposed to vote the Republican ticket at that time is evidenced by the returns for the town of Norway, Racine County. There the aggregate number of family heads in 1860 was 187. The number who were Scandinavian was 108, a decisive majority of the whole. Now the vote in 1856 stood, Frémont 91, Buchanan 43. But in 1860 it was: Lincoln, 110, 2 more than the Scandinavian heads of families, but 19 less than the total number of Scandinavians, Americans, and English; while the opposition vote, 72, was 14 more than the aggregate of Irish, Germans, and other non-English-speaking foreigners except Scandinavians. Thus the Scandinavians, almost without exception, must have voted Republican. Confirmatory proof of this Republicanism, as early as 1856, is found by comparing the votes of other Scandinavian towns outside our four counties. The result is uniformly the same.

In the southern pair of counties we have the interesting cases of sporadic Democratic majorities, as in Brighton, Kenosha County. Does our population analysis throw light on that case? The census reveals that in 1860 Brighton had 210 family heads, of which number 77 were Americans and Englishmen (2 being Welsh), while 133 were Irish and German. The vote

in 1856 was 55 to 106, and in 1860, 91 to 134. In this latter year the correspondence between the Democratic poll and the combined German and Irish population lacks 9 of being exact. The aggregate of voters in 1860, however, was 26 more than the total of family heads. A special hand count for that town, based on the manuscript census roll, shows there were present at the census date (June 1) unattached adult males to the number of 51. Fourteen of these persons were members of settlers' families. The others were farm laborers and may not have been qualified to vote in that precinct or may not have been there at election time. The 14 persons who belonged there divide 7 and 7 between the German-Irish group and the American-British group. This item tends to show that there were probably a few defections from each of the major groups, but only a few.

The case of Burlington, Racine County, which lies neighbor to Brighton, was similar. In 1860 the heads of families numbered 432. That year the vote stood, Republican 168, Democratic 280; while in 1856 it stood 152 to 297. The aggregate of the American-British-Scandinavian group was 142, of the other 290. That is to say, in 1860 there were 142 heads of families who might be assumed to be Republican, and there were 168 Republican votes; there were 290 heads of families who were probably Democratic and 280 Democratic votes. The defections, obviously, had come from that group.

Caledonia was a close town. In 1856 there was a Democratic majority of 22. But in 1860 the Lincoln vote (242) was 11 more than the Douglas vote (231). The heads of families in 1860 numbered 471, and the political analysis on the basis of population elements is

complicated by the presence of 95 heads of families who were natives of Bohemia. It is well known that Bohemians in modern or recent times have been prevalingly Democratic, and if we were to assume that this was the case in early times also, the count of naturally Democratic heads would be 309 as against 162 who might be regarded as naturally Republican. But there is good reason to believe the Bohemians in 1860 voted Republican.¹

Most of the Caledonia Bohemians came during the years 1856 to 1860, and they probably influenced the 1856 election very slightly if at all. But the increase in voters by 1860 was doubtless mainly due to the coming of these 95 Bohemian families. Now, if we count them on the Republican side we obtain 257 for that side, while the Democratic would be reduced to 214. That is 17 less than the recorded total of Douglas votes, 231, while it is 15 more than the recorded number of Lincoln votes, 242. Some, perhaps, were too new to vote. The testimony of Bohemian pioneers is that in 1860 and for about twelve years thereafter the Bohemians voted almost solidly the Republican ticket.

The fourth ward of the city of Racine went Democratic at both elections. In 1856 the vote stood, Frémont 70, Buchanan 214; in 1860, Lincoln 113, Douglas 199, or a combined vote of 312. Heads of families in 1860 numbered 362, of which 105 were of the American-British-Bohemian combination and 255 of the Irish-

¹ This is the testimony given in an interview of June 13, 1924, by Fred Jonas, Racine, brother of the celebrated Carl Jonas, early editor, lieutenant governor, etc., who was a leader of the Bohemians settled in Wisconsin. He says the Bohemians were Republicans to a man until Carl Jonas turned Democrat in the second Grant administration. Cf. Konrad Bercovici, *On New Shores* (New York, 1925), 50.

German. This case also shows that the Republican party was making inroads upon the Democrats in centers where organization and effort were vigorously applied. Doubtless the fact that both Racine and Kenosha counties were strongly Republican made proselyting in their precincts more hopeful than it could possibly be in Milwaukee or Ozaukee precincts. In politics, as in business, nothing succeeds like success.

Still, success in Republican proselyting was not confined to the southern counties. We have seen how the town of Belgium (Ozaukee County) advanced in its Republicanism from 1 vote in 1856 to 114 in 1860—and there is absolutely no reason to assume a corresponding growth in the naturally Republican population elements during that interval; rather the reverse. There is, however, the doubt whether that apparent Republican gain was bona fide.

If we could know about the newspapers these foreigners read, or the German speakers who canvassed them for votes, our puzzle might be solved. For, the people, being unaccustomed to political expression, unfamiliar with the American government and the issues of the campaigns, were more dependent upon leadership, especially newspaper leadership, than were the Americans and other English-speaking voters. Just as the Bohemians of Racine County in 1860 voted the sentiments of Frank Karesek, editor of the new Bohemian paper, and in 1876 voted those of Carl Jonas, then editor of *Slavie*, who had become a Democrat, so for a series of years the rural Germans followed the shifts in political sentiment of their newspaper editors.

In all of the other Ozaukee towns, save Grafton, there was a gain for Republicanism in 1860, even while the naturally Democratic element grew stronger; and

the same is true of the rural Milwaukee County towns. For the city no classification by families has been attempted, though there is good reason for assuming that the German group had not declined relatively to the other. Yet, whereas in 1856 all wards were Democratic, in 1860 four of the nine wards were Republican and the entire Lincoln vote was 3804 as against 4710 for Douglas. The corresponding figures for 1856 were 2131 and 5384.

From this survey several questions emerge to which we must now give attention. In the first place, why was it that the freedom-loving Irish and Germans responded at first so grudgingly to the appeals of a party one of whose foundation principles was the restriction of human slavery, and which sheltered also many of the more radical elements who would have abolished the institution of slavery itself? Second, by what process was the Democratic monopoly on the affections and loyalty of the Germans weakened, so that they came to align themselves finally—in considerable numbers—with the Republican party?

When Irish and Germans began to arrive, in large numbers, they found the Democratic party so strongly entrenched in power that its then opponent, the Whig party, was in a discouraged, almost hopeless mood and not at all in the spirit for successful recruiting among the new immigrants. Besides, the Whigs, representing as they did the wealthier, more aristocratic, and better educated classes of Americans, were confessedly lacking in sympathy with those incoming groups, who were mostly poor, who, because strangers, appeared uncouth in manners and in speech, and who—whatever their actual state of intelligence—were so different as to arouse much hostile criticism on the part both of Whig

leaders and of the rank and file of that party. So far from courting these foreign elements and thereby attaching them to their organization, it may be said that the instinctive coldness of the Whigs to such foreigners was a fundamental fact in turning them to the other party. It doubtless gained recruits for Whiggism from Democracy's ranks—for some Democrats, also, were perturbed at the thought of close political association with foreign groups which they did not understand and did not like. But it effectually discouraged Germans and Irish who, on grounds of principle, might have desired to cooperate with the Whigs.

But, whereas the attitude of the Whig party proper was merely inhospitable toward these immigrants, the so-called American or Nativist party, which sometimes emerged as a separate organization and again withdrew within the shelter of the Whig barricade, was avowedly hostile to Catholic foreigners and unfriendly to others who were of non-English-speaking races. The question why the Irish became permanently attached to the Democratic party is answered when we recall that, generally speaking, all Irishmen were Catholics, that the triumphant Democratic party of the 1830's and the 1840's welcomed them to a full participation in its activities and its benefits, while the opposition party was always suspect as regards its attitude toward foreign Catholics, and its full cousin the Nativist party, together with many members of the Whig family proper, was their sworn enemy. The great German influx came in time to enable this element, like the Irish, to catch the full force of the influences just described. But the Germans had no traditional opposition to the name "Whig," as the Irish had from the dealing of the dominant British party with their country. A large

proportion of the Germans—especially the early arrivals—were Catholics, from the states and provinces along the Rhine. They would be sure to react to Nativism much as the Irish did, making allowance for differences of racial temperament. Besides, the Germans, both Catholic and Protestant, belonged largely to the peasant classes, were farmers and artificers, who felt much more at home in a party of the people like the Democrats, than in a party of the optimates like the Whigs.

The Democratic party, in the period, was not merely hospitable to these classes of foreigners: it sought by positive legislation to improve their condition. In its land laws, in its opposition to monopoly, in its attempt to secure universal political democracy, it made a powerful appeal to all incoming foreigners. The democracy of Wisconsin, however, went one step further. The Democrats procured the section in the state constitution granting the right of suffrage to all persons who were bona fide residents of the state and who had declared their intention to become citizens of the United States.² This gave to foreigners equality of political privileges with Americans; and it was felt by Germans and Irish to be a supreme expression of American liberty, which might be securely enjoyed so long as the Democratic party should remain regnant.

A half-dozen years after the launching of the state government, under Democratic auspices and with the enthusiastic cooperation of Irish and German elements, came the agitation over slavery limitation which eventuated in the organization of the Republican party. In

² That principle was first adopted by Michigan, Wisconsin following her lead. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xxvi-xxviii (Constitutional Series).

the intervening period immigration into the state was heavy, both the German element and the Irish receiving large accessions. In the first case, the character of the immigration was modified by the arrival of an appreciable number of Forty-eighters—men of revolutionary predilections and antecedents whose emigration in many cases was compulsory, due to their being outlawed for participation in the various uprisings which were crushed by the German governments. Others came because they sympathized with the revolutionary movement, now so hopelessly lost.

We shall never know how many of the Forty-eighters Wisconsin harbored. It is probable that the aggregate number was small in comparison with the total immigration from Germany into this state. Nevertheless, from many points of view, notably the political, the coming of the Forty-eighters was an event of outstanding significance. Those men differed from the average immigrant. They were usually persons of some note at home. Many were highly educated; some belonged to distinguished families; some possessed—or had possessed—generous fortunes. With their superior linguistic training, their social adaptability, in some cases their recognized artistic genius,³ the acclaim with which they were received in this country as partisans of freedom, it was as easy for the Forty-eighters to gain admittance to the higher circles of American society, as it had been impossible for their less fortunate fellow-countrymen to do so.

Religiously, the revolutionists were usually so strongly anticlerical that their classification as “free-thinkers” is not wholly inappropriate. Many of them

³ Note, for example, the case of Hans Balatka, the great musical director.

were genuinely religious in spirit; their quarrel was with the religious organizations and authorities. In this country they felt free to affiliate with American churches—usually Protestant—or to remain outside of formal church organizations. If they took the second course they would lack one qualification for gaining favor with the more militant of the Yankee religionists; but even so, they would not want for good company in the fraternal societies, or in the business and professional world.

In view of their personal desirability and their status, the Forty-eighters were in a position to be courted by both major political parties, and they were thus relieved of most of the prejudices which threw their Catholic fellow-countrymen into the arms of the Democracy. If the opposite party stood for principles which they favored, and this the Republican party did, they were at liberty to affiliate with that party. And every revolutionist, attached to the Republican party, possessed a double significance because, in addition to the direct strengthening of that party, his adherence to it weakened the prestige of the Democracy and served to draw other Germans away from it. The revolutionists, in a word, as Republicans quickly came to understand, became the flying squadron to rescue Germanism from the danger of being permanently enmeshed in the Democratic party. Witness the political career of Carl Schurz, of the battery of distinguished German editors who espoused the Republican cause, of politicians like Edward Salomon who, persuaded by Republicans to become candidates for high office, attracted many German votes to the Republican party.

Early prejudices once softened (and herein time and habit were powerful agencies), there was no longer

a serious obstacle in the way of average Germans espousing the Republican cause. That was true especially of the Protestant Germans. Nativism and anti-Catholicism declined, indeed, as political interest dictated they should; nevertheless, the undercurrent of suspicion and ill will which continued to set toward the papal religion and its votaries was stronger in the Republican ranks than in the Democratic, where foreign-born Catholics constituted an effectual antidote to Nativism. One would expect, therefore, that areas settled by German Protestants might be won over to Republicanism much more promptly than other areas occupied by German Catholics. Irish Catholics persisted in their Democracy, as did also other foreign Catholics, like Belgians, French, and Luxemburgers.

At the beginning of the Republican era the question of prohibition thrust itself into the general political contest between the parties, Republicans having contended for prohibition in the Wisconsin legislature and Democrats having opposed it. Afterwards, for a time, the Republican party dropped the prohibition issue, thereby further moderating German prejudices against the party.

Among other foreigners, the English, Scotch, and Welsh found the Republican party congenial for most of the reasons which made it seem ungrateful to Germans and Irish. They were Protestants; they—at least English and Scotch—had favored the Whig party at home and gravitated toward the higher social classes; and they as well as the Welsh had many prominent men to mediate between their unsophisticated countrymen and the too exclusive Yankees. The presence of the Irish in the Democratic party would hardly constitute a positive inducement for Britons to enter it. At all

events, these people were not inhibited from voting according to their beliefs on the slavery question, and they voted Republican with approximate unanimity.⁴ The Scandinavians are a case apart. But they, too, were Protestants. They began to be important numerically about the time of the great agitation against slavery, when proselyting was conducted not merely with vigor but with zeal; and they, too, had leaders in prominent men like Hans Christian Heg, whose influence was powerful in aligning the entire group with the party of Frémont and of Lincoln.

The Bohemians, like the Scandinavians, began coming numerously just at the time of the strong moral agitation against slavery extension, and they too were caught up by the Republican propaganda, through the agency of their natural leaders. How far the anti-German prejudices of Bohemians may have impelled them away from a party to which the Germans thronged we cannot be certain. Probably that influence was of some importance. At all events, Karesek and Carl Jonas were successful in massing the Bohemian vote for the Republicans.

By 1860 the process of wresting the Germans from Democracy's grasp was well under way. A glance at our chart of the 1860 vote as compared with that of 1856 has already disclosed this fact. The Democratic majorities in all the strictly German towns were cut down, the Republican vote increased. But the striking differences between the results in certain towns and those in others will probably be explained by the foregoing account, particularly as it refers to the religious ques-

⁴ Wherever in the southwestern Wisconsin lead mining area, which was largely Democratic on account of the presence of Southwesterners, there was a town occupied mainly by Cornishmen, there the vote was Republican.

tion. Look once more at the returns for Belgium, Ozaukee County. There were in 1860 no family heads who were English-speaking, not even a single Irishman. Yet, by some magic the single Republican vote of 1856 became 114 votes in 1860. These votes (one could be almost certain) did not come from the 220 Luxemburgers, or the 6 Frenchmen, or the 2 Austrians, or the 27 Belgians, or the 15 Bavarians, all Catholics. They might have come, however, from the 54 Dutch, combined with the 64 Prussians. For those people were probably Protestant and as such easier to move from their Democratic allegiance than the others. In Cedarburg were more Prussians than in Belgium, 122 family heads. There were no Dutch, no Belgians, and no Luxemburgers. Yet, the Republican vote there was only 7, as against 3 in 1856—only 2 more than the American-British group of family heads. Why did Republican propaganda fail in Cedarburg? Possibly the presence of 111 Irish, scattered through the town, had a tendency to hold the German vote in line. The Irish are politically minded; they are active, aggressive, and effective in organization, which the Germans are not. Moreover, a very prominent German Democratic leader, Frederick W. Horn, lived in Cedarburg and made that and neighbor towns the fulcrum of his political fortunes. For these reasons there can be no doubt about the closeness of the Democratic organization in Cedarburg, and the case reveals, probably, the effect of organization in offsetting natural political tendencies.

In Fredonia, Grafton, and Saukville no considerable inroads seem to have been made upon the Democratic German vote, but in Mequon the change from 61 in 1856 to 141 in 1860 shows that conversions had occurred. The largest German element in that town was

Prussian, 264 heads of families, and the second largest Saxon, 111 heads. Here must have been a considerable group of Protestants accessible to Republican propaganda. Mequon being the American home of Old Lutheran congregations from North Germany, we are left in no doubt about the religious complexion of the Prussian group in that town. In some of the others, local research will have to be relied on to establish the facts. The point, however, is important enough to justify such research, for if it shall prove to be true in this small area that Republican recruits came from among Protestant Germans and not Catholics, that fact will shed light upon the whole of American political history.⁵

The Civil War had its elements of terror and tragedy to even the most austere of Yankee Unionists and antislavery men. To a large proportion of the foreign-born citizens it was a veritable nightmare, and that

⁵ It was reported in 1889 that the town of Belgium was almost exclusively occupied by Luxemburgers; that the German part of Fredonia embraced Luxemburgers, Saxons, and Bavarians; that Pomeranians and other North Prussians predominated in the southern part of the county of Ozaukee. The towns of Mequon and Cedarburg were meant, although the latter had a colony of Oldenburgers also. Most of them were Lutherans, while Luxemburgers and Bavarians were Catholic. A report of the same year from Wilmot, Kenosha County, speaks of Catholic German settlements in Wheatland and in Brighton, the people having come mainly from Westphalia, Münster, and Trier. This writer, George Kroncke von Ahn, a German immigrant of 1873, says: "They keep pretty well to their old country rules [customs], they intermarry very seldom and are mostly democrats, but good and industrious people." The above manuscripts are in the Roeseler Collection. Honorable Emil Baensch in 1890 described "Scandinavians and German Protestants, and Bohemian Freethinkers" as Republicans; "German and Bohemian and Polish and Irish Catholics" as Democrats. Roeseler Collection. Recent reports (MSS) show a Catholic predominance in Burlington, Paris, and Randall.

was peculiarly the case of a large proportion of the Wisconsin Germans. Individuals among them had come to America, as very young men, in order to escape the heavy burden of military service. Many families came in order that the children might on reaching the military age be spared the infliction of that burden. Some immigrants, though doubtless a small minority, were keen militarists, welcoming such opportunities as the Mexican War furnished, both for the service which they enjoyed and for rewards in pay and in bounty lands which it promised.

It will probably be found, however, that those who volunteered during the Mexican War were frequently new arrivals who had not yet established themselves as farmers, mechanics, or business men, and entered the army as the best available resource of the moment.⁶ The German householder, especially if he was engaged in making a farm—as most of them were—had no military longings which had not been more than satisfied by the compulsory service to which he had been subjected at home, or which was at least a somber memory in his family.

We have seen that in Wisconsin the Germans had settled first the area near the lake shore which was covered with the heavy maple forest—the area which includes the counties of Milwaukee and Ozaukee, but spreads west as far as Rock River and north to near Lake Winnebago. There, as shown in the preceding chapter, the conditions of farm making were so unfavorable, the process was so slow and laborious, the living conditions meantime so precarious, that to draw a farmer or his son away from the partly improved farm

⁶ Individual cases in Wisconsin, so far as examined, seem to bear out this conclusion.

entailed upon the family a double hardship. It halted the progress of clearing and breaking by which the farm was to be made gradually more productive, and it cut down the income derived from his labor on the land already subdued, or, in numerous instances, the contribution which could be made to the family living fund by his working for others.

By contrast the farmers in Racine and Kenosha counties had their farms made. Their task was reducible to sowing and reaping, processes requiring only a moderate outlay of farm labor. This again could be further minimized by the use of machinery, which was far less practicable on the tiny fields and patches won from the reluctant forest in the northern counties. These farmers, too, had more livestock, which was an important financial resource.⁷

No discussion of the German farmers' deliberation about volunteering and no history of the draft difficulties in Ozaukee and Washington counties would be fair to the Germans which should omit the facts presented above. On the other hand, the writer who, intent on economic interpretations, should accept those facts as an adequate explanation of the German attitude toward the war would be making the kind of mistake which I fear is all too common among a certain class of investigators. For, at bottom, it is psychology, not economics, which determines men's views on war or peace; and while the economic conditions described had

⁷ Local records, as for example in the town of Burlington, reveal how customary it was for farmers to buy machinery and give a chattel mortgage on "one roan mare" or other animal to secure payment. Only one of the Ozaukee County towns averaged one horse to the farm. That was Mequon, 1.4 horses. All had above one ox. No town in Kenosha County had as few as two horses per farm.

their effect on the psychology of the Germans, other factors also had their influence and were perhaps more potent in creating the sentiment which prevailed during the early part of the war.

The first of those influences was the political alignment of the Germans with the Democratic party, their general subservience to Democratic leadership, and the violently anti-war character of much of that leadership. One of the letters received by Governor Randall at the outbreak of the war was from a prominent German Democratic politician of Ozaukee County. This gentleman had been a member of the legislature steadily for more than a decade, had been speaker of the house, and had wielded much power in legislation. But he was a bitter partisan, and when, in response to Lincoln's proclamation, the Governor on the fifteenth of April, 1861, called for three-months' volunteers, he wrote the most indiscriminating denunciation of the war, the Republican party, and President Lincoln which it has been my fortune to read. He laid the entire blame for the war upon Lincoln and the Republican party. He called it an "unholy and patricidal war," cursed the New England fanatics and the Pennsylvania iron-mongers, declared he did not blame the people of Charleston in the least for their attack on Fort Sumter, proclaimed his belief that the southern states would soon have overthrown their secession leaders and become loyal had they been let alone, and protested against the use of force to keep those states in the Union. If the war aims at such a result, then his services cannot be had for the purpose. "The consequences of electing a sectional president," he said, "were foretold by every Democrat in the land, but you would

not listen to the voice of warning: it is now for you to guard him during his four years' term."⁸

Perhaps the last clause voices best the general Democratic sentiment as it affected the German population. The Republicans made the war, let them furnish the men to wage it. Democrats could not avoid paying taxes for its support. That was one of the evils they must bear. But when it came to fighting or giving their sons to fight, that was another matter. With ideas like the above the Germans were insistently belabored by the German Democratic press which spread, gloatingly, the war phobia of prominent American Democrats, and Irish Democrats, who were not only no whit behind the writer just quoted in their expression of abhorrence for the entire war business, but were the actual instigators of the war phobia of the German Democratic press upon which the rural Germans had to rely for their political information.⁹ Whenever one is led to wonder why a large portion of the rural Germans in Wisconsin was at first very slow to volunteer, let him spend a few hours over the editorials in the *See-bote* of that period. Such an investigation will be most enlightening if he stops to reflect that to people circumstanced as the German farmers were, the confirmation of their views and prejudices by the family newspaper was conclusive. Those who read pro-war papers naturally showed a different spirit.

The result of the slowness of volunteering was that Ozaukee and Washington counties were assigned the

⁸ Letter to Governor A. W. Randall, April 18, 1861. MS in letters of Governors, Wisconsin Historical Library.

⁹ See, for example, "Address to the People, by the Democracy of Wisconsin, Sept. 3, 1862"—the famous paper written by Judge Edward G. Ryan, afterwards chief justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court.

largest proportional draft quotas of any counties in the state. That seemed to their people most unjust in view of their dependence on the farm labor of their men. Unfortunate circumstances attending the medical examinations and an apparent want of good management on the part of the draft commissioner at Port Washington gave rise to a serious draft riot at that place on November 10, 1862.¹⁰ This was followed by the employment of troops to enforce the draft, the arrest and detention at Camp Randall of a number of persons, and, in short, the intensification of the bitter feelings with which the war was regarded by the people of that county and their sympathizers in other counties. The draft disturbance at West Bend, in Washington County, was not serious, while forethought and co-operation between the governor, the military authority, and the local draft commissioner enabled the metropolis to pass the crisis in safety.

Thus Ozaukee County stood out foremost of these four counties in opposition to military service in the war, a fact which is reflected in the vote of 1864, when Lincoln received only 243 votes in the county as against 2050 votes for McClellan. In Milwaukee County the work of recruiting was so largely an affair of the city, where the war sentiment ran high and was fomented by every device of organization and propaganda, that a goodly number of the boys from German farm homes were induced to volunteer and many trained Germans

¹⁰ The rioters were not all Germans. But German names preponderated. An aftermath of the draft riot was a suit at law instituted by one of the ring-leaders against the former governor in 1865. It was reviewed by the Wisconsin Supreme Court at the January term 1867. See *Druecker vs. Salomon*, 21 Wis., 628-639. The defendant presented evidence in regard to the riot, with which the plaintiff was connected.

became leaders in the work of developing the military organization. Republicans who were natives of the country showed a zeal in no way superior to that of many Germans who had been only a few years resident in the United States.

As might be expected, there was very general enthusiasm among the Yankees of the counties to the south, who were not only Republicans in the main but thoroughpaced Unionists and haters of slavery. The story of the American attitude was different in localities where the majority were Democrats; as, for example, in portions of Lafayette and Iowa counties. There, too (at least in Lafayette County), troops were required in order to insure a peaceful draft. But nothing of the sort was necessary in Racine and Kenosha counties. In fact, very little drafting was necessary in those counties, so successful had been the efforts to secure volunteers.

When the question of finishing the job by supporting Lincoln's war policies came to decision at the polls in 1864, Kenosha County voted by a majority of 460 to sustain the President. Racine County gave a Lincoln majority of 400, and Milwaukee a McClellan majority of more than two to one. Doubtless the absence of so many Republicans at the front helps to explain the relative Democratic gains in the two southern counties and also in Milwaukee.

The story of German participation in the war has often been told and often sung. Wisconsin Germans played a most honorable part in that conflict, as every one is aware. In respect both to the numbers engaged (in proportion to population) and to the soldierly performance of duty by the men and the brilliancy of the officers, Germans have nothing to fear from compari-

sons which might be made with the records of other population elements. The story is usually narrated from purely military and statistical points of view. By disregarding voluntary enlistments and the time at which service began, the showing for the Germans is made rather better than it otherwise would be. Still, if the war had turned out to be a three-months' war or a six-months' war instead of a four-years' war, and if the recruits had all been raised on the volunteer basis, Germans could still have been proud of their part in it, for some of the earliest regiments were largely filled with trained German soldiers. The protracted character of the struggle afforded time to educate the mass of Germans as well as their leaders to its political significance, and in the long run they responded nobly, although for a time the rural element was rather conspicuously slow to enlist.

This point has generally been neglected and, so far as I know, never explained. The prevailing political Democracy of the Germans helps toward the explanation, as does also the evidence of their economic unpreparedness for military service. These points, however, would apply as well to the German Swiss farmers of Green County as to the Prussians, Mecklenburgers, Bavarians, and Badeners of Ozaukee and Milwaukee counties. Yet there was a perceptible difference in the rate of volunteering between the two types, and one is tempted to speculate about the reason for it.

It can hardly be doubted that the widespread dissatisfaction with enforced military service, which urged so many to emigrate, had given a distinctly pacifist tinge to great masses of the German people. Military historians of that nation complain that in the period following the Napoleonic wars the decay of the military

spirit was marked especially in the South German states.¹¹ That the people were not naturally militaristic is dramatically reflected in the failure of the revolutionists of 1848-50 to interest in their cause any considerable body of the population.

The revolutionists discovered also that the mass of the Germans were left cold by their proclamation of a united fatherland, for which many of the leaders were prepared to sacrifice their all. Confederation, not union, had been the political ideal for so many ages that it was a slow process substituting the one for the other. By 1870 that feat had been accomplished for Germany. Can we be sure that 1861 found the American Germans, aside from the Forty-eighters, ready to espouse Lincoln's "war for the preservation of the Union," especially since great numbers of their American political brethren were wavering over that issue? It is doubtful if, when the war broke out, many Germans aside from the Forty-eighters had given much thought to the politics of nationalism. Webster's dictum "Liberty and Union" spoke a language for which their experience supplied no interpretation. Under the circumstances, it was doubly and trebly fortunate for America and for this state that the revolutionists we call Forty-eighters were on hand to interpret to their fellow countrymen the meaning and motives of the war, and to win adherents for it as they had already won adherents for the political cause represented by Lincoln.

Time was needed for the educational process to bear fruit; as it ultimately did in a loyal, devoted service to the Union by the great body of Wisconsin Germans.¹²

¹¹ See, for example, General Freitag-Loringhofen, *A Nation Trained in Arms or a Militia* (London, 1918).

¹² A pleasant commentary upon the sentiment here expressed

The later political history of this region can be summed up in a few paragraphs. In 1896 Racine County cast 3973 votes for Bryan and 5849 for McKinley, Kenosha 1732 for Bryan and 2827 for McKinley, Milwaukee 26,536 for Bryan to 35,939 for McKinley, and Ozaukee 1947 for Bryan to 1535 for McKinley. Thus, a generation after the second election of Lincoln, Ozaukee County was still strongly Democratic, while Milwaukee had already been converted to Republicanism and the southern counties remained relatively unchanged. A narrower inspection of the returns shows that the town of Mequon had become strongly Republican, and the town of Grafton safely so, while the city of Cedarburg was also Republican, though the rural town still gave a Democratic majority. Belgium, Fredonia, Port Washington, and Saukville remained staunchly Democratic. On the other hand, all of the rural towns in Milwaukee County gave Republican majorities, as did every one of the city precincts. In Kenosha County, Brighton and Paris each cast a small plurality for Bryan—20 and 4 votes, respectively; and in Racine, Burlington, true to her ancient tradition, did the same. Mount Pleasant, Norway, Raymond, Waterford, and Yorkville came forward with huge McKinley pluralities, Rochester with a fair one, and Dover and Caledonia with very small ones.¹³

The election of 1896 is interesting as bringing out the maximum Republican voting strength of that time.

is the fact that our national patriotic ceremony known as Flag Day was the suggestion of a young teacher of Luxemburger extraction born and reared in Ozaukee County, Wisconsin. *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, ix, 465-466.

¹³ Caledonia's Republican plurality was 3, showing that the town was still close. Dover's was 14.

In the Cleveland campaign four years earlier the maximum Democratic strength was polled, and it resulted in giving Cleveland the plurality over Harrison in each of three counties, Racine being the only one of the four to cast a Republican plurality. The figures were: for Kenosha, Cleveland 1928, Harrison 1628; Milwaukee, Cleveland 24,607, Harrison 24,602; Ozaukee, Cleveland 2694, Harrison 652; Racine, Cleveland 3750, Harrison 3956. In this last county the two historically close towns, Caledonia and Dover, both cast a plurality vote for Cleveland, while the old-time Democratic stronghold, Burlington, gave him a big majority; the five other towns were Republican, as was Racine City. In Kenosha County, Brighton, Paris, and Wheatland were Democratic, also the city. Four of the seven old Milwaukee County towns—Lake, Oak Creek, Franklin, and Granville—were Democratic; the others—Greenfield, Milwaukee, and Wauwatosa—Republican, the last named more than two to one. If it had not been for the large Harrison plurality in Wauwatosa, rural Milwaukee County would have gone for Cleveland by several hundred plurality. As it turned out, the city was called upon to save the county for the Democrats, and it only barely succeeded—by five votes. All precincts in Ozaukee County were Democratic.

Another occasion when the Democrats scored was in 1912. That year all four counties gave good pluralities for Wilson. In Milwaukee, Debs received the second highest vote, Taft trailing in third place. In Racine and Kenosha counties, the Taft plurality over Roosevelt was slight, but in Ozaukee it was very pronounced. In that county Wilson received 1878, Taft 749, and Roosevelt 241. This seems to show that the Germans of Ozaukee County were still thoroughgoing partisans

rather than independent voters. The other counties show a large measure of independence in the vote. Pleasant Prairie in Kenosha County, also three of the wards in the city, went for Roosevelt; three wards in Milwaukee gave pluralities for Debs (Socialist), and the county, while giving Wilson a plurality, complimented Debs by giving him second place, with some 1500 votes more than were polled for Taft. In Racine County, Taft stood second and Roosevelt third. The 1916 election showed some surprising results. That year Kenosha and Racine voted strongly for Hughes; Milwaukee, where the Socialist candidate took over 16,000 votes, gave a plurality to Wilson, while the rock-ribbed Democratic county of Ozaukee, which had never yet favored a Republican candidate, gave Hughes a small plurality. It foreshadows the startling majority for Harding as against Cox in 1920; namely, 3523 to 835.

In the other counties the 1920 vote stood as follows: Kenosha, Cox 1724, Harding 9781; Milwaukee, Cox 25,464, Harding 73,430; Racine, Cox 3650, Harding 14,406.

Some of the gubernatorial elections throw light on the political and social predilections of the people of these counties. In 1890 the issue was the Bennett law, sponsored by the Republican candidate, Governor Hoard, and opposed by Mr. Peck, the Democratic candidate. It was understood that both the Catholics and the Lutherans opposed the measure, and the vote in the several towns of Ozaukee County would seem to bear out that view. The entire county gave Peck 2366 as against only 409 for Hoard, and the proportions were fairly uniform for the several towns, though Port Washington, with 105 Republican to 373 Democratic,

was Mr. Hoard's least implacable opposer. Racine County, rural section, also gave a majority for Peck, though a small one, and there it is plain that it was the Catholics of Burlington, Caledonia (Germans and Bohemians), and Dover who brought about the result. Strikingly different was the vote of the Norwegian and Danish Lutherans in Norway and Raymond. Decided majorities in those two towns went to Hoard, indicating either that the Scandinavians were less interested in the parochial schools than the Germans—which would seem to be the case—or that their Republicanism was too "thick and thin" to be overcome even by that disturbing issue.

Interesting, also, is the way in which the Germans of Ozaukee were weaned from their Democracy by Robert M. LaFollette. In 1900 the county gave a majority of over 700 in favor of LaFollette's Democratic opponent. Again in 1902 there was a Democratic majority of 700. In 1904 Peck's majority was slightly under 400, LaFollette having gained 300 votes in the county. In the 1922 election for United States Senator, that county gave LaFollette 3090, while the Democratic candidate received 373. Racine County gave LaFollette 14,180, Hooper 2210; and Kenosha, LaFollette 7146, Hooper 905.

CHAPTER IX

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL HISTORY

DR. Franz Huebschmann, of Milwaukee, was the most prominent representative of the German element in the constitutional convention of 1846. He was an able man and gave much assistance in working out the problems of the convention. But the subject of deepest concern to him was to secure a constitutional provision enfranchising the immigrants without compelling them first to complete the process of naturalization. The argument Huebschmann employed was the social argument. He wanted to do away with distinctions of rights between Americans and foreigners, in order thereby to remove barriers to their social cooperation. To this end he also urged provision for adequate public schools. "Political equality and good schools," he said, "will make the people of Wisconsin an enlightened and happy people. They will make them one people."¹

The constitution provided that all who were bona fide residents of the state and had declared their intention to become citizens should have the right to vote at any election, in case they had resided in the state for one year preceding such election. The principle had the support of the Democratic members of the convention and, despite some very natural Whig opposition, it entered into our state political system to stay.

There is no doubt about the social significance of

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xxvii, 235.

that legislation. In the first place, it relieved the foreign-born of the feeling of political inferiority and gave them a sense of belonging, which imparted dignity and social value to their lives. Those who had a gift for politics, such as the Irish, used the new opportunity as a means of personal and group advancement through political action. Some of the Germans did the same, though they were generally far less apt in public matters than their Celtic neighbors. With the influx of the Forty-eighters, who became the leaders of Wisconsin's German population, noteworthy political progress was made, as we have seen. It involved all the risks of opposition, criticism, and even bitter hostility which are inseparable from the political phase of social action. Nevertheless, it tended gradually to raise the Germans in the social estimation of the Americans and, by consequence, in their own estimation.

Participation in the Civil War, which was a function of their citizenship, was a second and very effective means of raising the foreign-born to the social plane of the Americans. There were, indeed, initial problems of overcoming differences. Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, preferred to serve in regiments and companies made up exclusively or mainly of their own countrymen. Americans disliked to serve under foreign officers. This disposition was taken advantage of for the sake of promoting enlistments among foreigners. Thus, the Ninth Regiment was recruited among the Germans, the Fifteenth among Scandinavians, the Seventeenth among the Irish. As time passed the initial prejudices weakened or were overcome, and a large number of foreigners served, first and last, in mixed organizations; they touched elbows with Yankee or Southwesterner in camp, on parade; exchanged deepest confidences just

before charging the enemy's line; and when life was ebbing away, it was often a comrade representing another race who was entrusted with messages to loved ones at home and with the dying soldier's effects. Each learned to know and value the qualities of the other, and after the war this comradeship, institutionalized in the Grand Army of the Republic and other social organizations, was an important new impulse fostering the amalgamation of the race elements.

The effects became apparent in many ways. One of the most significant was the increasing number of intermarriages between the foreign-born and the native-born. The willingness to intermarry is probably the best proof of the disappearance of racial prejudices and the development of a stock of habits, ideas, and interests which are common to the several groups. Except under peculiar circumstances, such as conquest of primitive races by soldiers separated from their natural homes, intermarriage serves as a test of social fluidity and likemindedness.

It has been shown that up to the year 1850 the number of intermarriages between the Germans of Milwaukee and the native Americans was negligible.² The total number of such unions for the entire city, so far as the census reveals the facts, was only 12. In 8 of those cases, American-born men married women born in Germany, while in 4 cases German men married American-born women. Unfortunately, the census does not give the wife's family name, hence it is impossible to determine how many of the women, though born in America, may have been of German stock.

To summarize, it may be stated that in 1850 ap-

² See "Yankee and Teuton in Wisconsin, Part V," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vii, 148-171.

parently only 37 Germans, out of a German population in Milwaukee of nearly 6000, were married to persons of other than German nationality; and it is more than likely that at least one-half, and perhaps a much higher proportion, of these cases are apparent rather than real. This justifies us in looking upon intermarriages at that period as an exceedingly rare social phenomenon. The races were separated by definite barriers of group feeling which very few were able to pass.

The situation in Milwaukee constitutes a good background for our study of the rural area. But, instead of taking the census of 1850 as our basis, we shall present first the results of a count made from the census of 1860 for all the rural towns in the four counties. Also, we shall base our study on the American element alone, noting all cases of persons native to this country who were united in marriage to those of foreign birth.

In order to make the comparison as significant as possible, we have placed in the tables of intermarriages (Appendix), at the left, figures showing for each town the total population, the total number of families, and the number of American families. We then present the number of cases of American-born persons who were intermarried with persons of foreign birth, and show how many of these Americans were men and how many women. Then follows the analysis of the group of foreign-born who constitute the other half of the picture, i. e. so many of the men English, so many of the women English—Scotch, Welsh, Irish, German, etc. The reason for stating the total population is to enable a comparison to be made with the total number of families. In case the proportion of families to population is small, the conclusion is that a relatively large number of unattached adults are present, which, presumably,

might explain the strength of the tendency to intermarry. The figure representing the American families will show to what extent the population is divided between foreign- and native-born.

Summarizing the results for the seven rural towns of Milwaukee County, we find that their total population was 16,967, with families numbering 3196, of which 450 were American. This gives the families the ratio of 5.3 persons, and the American families constituted a trifle over 14 per cent of the whole number of families. It will be observed that the ratio of individuals per family is large, suggesting that in some of these towns there was probably a goodly proportion of unmarried adults. Running through the seven cases we find that in Granville the number of families was 14 per cent of the number of individuals, in Milwaukee 20 per cent, in Greenfield almost 19 per cent, in Franklin almost 18, in Lake 20, in Oak Creek 19+, and in Wauwatosa 18. The American families varied in number from 15 in Milwaukee and in Franklin to 178 in Wauwatosa, and in per cent of total number of families from 33 per cent in the last-named town to 3 tenths of 1 per cent in Milwaukee.

The seven towns taken together present 111 cases of intermarriage between natives and foreign-born, in 43 of which American men married foreign-born women and in 68 of which American women married foreign-born men. The 43 wives of the native-born men represented seven distinct nationalities, as follows: 7 English, 3 Scotch, 9 Irish, 11 German, 2 Dutch, 1 Swiss, and 10 Canadian. The 68 foreign-born men who married native-born women were English in 12 cases, Scotch in 2, Irish 21, German 24, Swiss 1, French 1, Norwegian 1, and Canadian 6. The Irish and Germans being the most numerous among the foreign element in

the county, it is natural that the largest number of intermarriages should have taken place within those groups. However, the intermarriages of Americans with persons of these two stocks are in no sense proportioned to the numbers of Germans and Irish in the seven towns. For the aggregate of the Irish was 982, the aggregate of the German element 6506. Yet the Irish furnished 21 of the men and 9 of the women, or 30 all told, among the 111 intermarriages, which is more than 25 per cent of the whole number and represents nearly 3 tenths of 1 per cent of the entire Irish population of these towns. The Germans furnished 11 men and 24 women, or 35. This was 31 per cent of the whole number of intermarriages, but only a little over 5 hundredths of 1 per cent of the German population.

The nine towns of Racine County had an aggregate population of 11,734, represented by 2207 families, of which 678 were American as against 450 in the more populous northern county, where the families numbered 3196. There were in Racine 122 cases of intermarriage between natives and foreign-born, 47 American men taking foreign-born wives, 75 native women taking husbands from other nationalities. The foreign stocks represented were the English, with 31 men and 16 women; Scotch, 5 and 6 respectively; Welsh, 1 and 1; Irish, 15 and 11; German, 8 and 3; French, 4 and 0; Canadian, 10 and 9; Portuguese, 1 and 0; Bohemian, 0 and 1. In these towns, although the German had a large plurality over all other foreign stocks, it furnished only 8 of the men and 3 of the women who intermarried with Americans, while English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish, and Canadians, aggregating a smaller total than that of the Germans, accounted for 105 cases, 62 men and 43 women.

Ozaukee County presents an interesting case. There were in the county, in 1860, 2855 families and a total population of 15,672. As already shown, the population was overwhelmingly German. Of the 2855 families not less than 2200 were of that race, while 307 family heads were Irish and only 219 American. Seventy-six were British. The aggregate number of intermarriages was 57, 19 of the men and 38 of the women being American. These 19 American men were married in 4 cases to German women, in 4 to Irish women, in 4 to English women, and in 7 to Canadian women. The American women had taken husbands in only 7 cases from among the predominant German population; while there were 11 intermarriages with Irishmen, 10 with Englishmen, 5 with Canadians, 2 with Scots, 2 with Frenchmen, and 1 with a Scandinavian.

Kenosha County towns (exclusive of the city) had a total population of 9486, represented by 1664 families. There were 750 American family heads and 78 intermarriages, of which 34 involved native-born men and 44 native-born women. One-half the men (17) were married to English women, 8 to Canadians, 1 to a Scotch woman, 2 to Welsh, 3 to Irish, and 3 to German women. The American women were married in 20 cases to Englishmen, in 3 to Scots, 3 to Welsh, 10 to Irish, 1 to a German, 6 to Canadians, and in 1 case to a Pole.

Summing up, we find from the census of 1860 that a grand total of 368 intermarriages had taken place in the rural towns of the four counties, in 143 of which the husband was a native and in 225 of which the wife was a native. In 44 cases the men chose English women for wives, in 27 cases Irish women, and in 33 cases Canadians. Besides, 10 of the balance were

Scotch and 3 Welsh, making 117 of the 143 wives members of English-speaking races. Of the balance (26), 21 were German women, 2 Dutch, 2 Swiss, and 1 Bohemian. The total population of the area was 53,859.

Ten years later the population of the same towns aggregated 58,273 and the total number of family heads 10,791. Of the latter only 2018 were American-born, Racine and Kenosha counties having 1449 and Milwaukee and Ozaukee combined 569. There were 701 intermarriages as against 368 in 1860, American men being the husbands in 204 cases, American women the wives in 497 cases. The wives of the native men were in 63 cases English, in 19 Scotch, 3 Welsh, 32 Irish, and 29 Canadians. That makes 146 English-speaking marriages. Of the remaining 58, 47 were German, 1 Dutch, 1 Swiss, 1 Norwegian, 5 Bohemian, 1 Danish, and 2 Austrian. The native women married in 106 cases Englishmen, in 17 Scots, 12 Welsh, 86 Irish, and 35 Canadians. Of the non-English-speaking husbands of these native women, just 200 were German, 7 Dutch, 5 Swiss, 12 French, 4 Norwegian, 1 Hungarian, 2 Austrian, 2 Swedish, 4 Danish, 1 Bohemian, 2 Belgian, and 1 West Indian. That is, 256 cases were English-speaking marriages and 241 non-English-speaking.

We now pass over an entire generation and take another cross-section view of the subject, at the year 1905, using for that purpose the last state census of Wisconsin. The results of this examination are significant enough to justify some detail. The county of Ozaukee, for example, at that date had an aggregate population of 11,240, represented by 2157 families, 1283 of which had native-born heads. The total number of intermarriages recorded by the census for the seven rural towns

of that county was 286. In 77 cases the husband was native-born, in 209 cases the wife was native-born and the husband of foreign birth. Germans furnished 197 of the 209 husbands of these native women. Five were Canadian, 2 Belgian, 1 French, 1 English, 1 Austrian, 1 Irish, and 1 Swiss. German women furnished the mates of native-born men in 65 of the 77 cases. One woman was Swiss, 1 Scotch, 2 English, 2 Canadian, 1 Belgian, 1 Danish, 3 Norwegian, and 1 Austrian.

The state census of 1905 recorded not only the nativity of the individual, but also that of his parents. This makes it possible to determine the racial stock of the native-born men and women who intermarried with the foreign-born. Now, the most striking fact about the Ozaukee County record of intermarriages is that with only 10 exceptions they were intra-racial rather than inter-racial. Two American-born men of German parentage married Norwegian women and 1 a Danish woman; 4 American-born men of American parentage married 1 an English woman, 1 a Canadian, 1 a Dane, and 1 a German. Besides these, a Canadian man married an American woman of Irish parentage, another married an American woman of German parentage. An Englishman married an American woman whose parents were Swedes. A good illustration of the close adherence to racial lines is that of a Canadian whose parents were Irish marrying an American-born woman of Irish extraction.

The county of Kenosha, eight rural towns, showed 313 intermarriages, 115 American-born men uniting with foreign-born women and 198 native women taking foreign-born husbands. Contrasted with Ozaukee County, the matings were decidedly varied. Among the foreign-born wives of the native men were 70 women

of German birth, 2 Irish, 13 English, 2 Scotch, 10 Canadian, 5 Welsh, 3 Danish, 4 Swedish, 2 French, 1 Dutch, 1 Swiss, 1 Norwegian, and 1 East Indian. The list of foreign-born husbands of American women included 101 Germans, 9 Irishmen, 6 Canadians, 36 Englishmen, 4 Scotchmen, 2 Frenchmen, 7 Welshmen, 3 Norwegians, 14 Danes, 4 Dutchmen, 3 Swiss, 8 Swedes, and 1 Russian.

The proportion of these marriages which were definitely inter-racial instead of intra-racial was incomparably higher than in Ozaukee, numbering 130 cases or 41 per cent of the whole. Forty-one of these cases involved Germans. This is 31 per cent of the inter-racial marriages, and since Germans were mates in 171 out of the 313 cases, it follows that the percentage of inter-racial alliances for them is low. It is much higher for the English, Scotch, and Welsh—English-speaking foreigners who were hampered neither by language nor by religion in affecting alliances with American natives.

Milwaukee County, seven rural towns, shows 260 intermarriages. In 88 cases the American mate was the man, in 172 cases the woman. The American men in 73 cases married German women, and the American women in 148 cases married German men. But 220 out of the 221 technical intermarriages between Americans and Germans were in fact intra-racial, the mate of the German being an American-born German. Apparently only 1 German married outside of the racial boundaries, but at least 7 English persons did so and only 9 men and women of that race appear on our list; 3 Scots did so and the list contains but 3 of that race. This illustrates the strength of the tendency among Germans to marry within their own race lines, especially in an area which is predominantly German.

We have left the county of Racine. There nine rural towns showed 401 cases of intermarriage, the man being the native mate in 128, the woman in 273. The men were mated with German women in 52 instances, with Irish women in 9, Scotch in 3, English in 11, Canadian in 9, Welsh in 1, Swedish in 2, Danish 10, Norwegian 14, Bohemian 14, Austrian 1, Dutch 1, and Australian 1. The women had German mates in 130 instances, or almost one-half; Irish in 14, Canadian 10, English 27, Norwegian 20, Welsh 1, French 1, Danish 39, Hungarian 2, Bohemian 17, Russian 1, Scotch 3, Dutch 3, Swiss 2, and Swedish in 3 cases.

In Racine, as in Kenosha County, the tendency to cross racial lines was pronounced among all the participants except the Germans, of whom only 8 per cent married outside. In that county about one-third of the Irish made genuine intermarriages, nearly always with Americans of German descent. About one-fourth of the Norwegians and Swedes married non-Scandinavian Americans. The English, Scotch, and Canadians followed racial lines very little in their matings.

It will be seen that the total number of technical intermarriages in the four counties as revealed by the census of 1905 was 1260 as against 701 in 1870 and 368 in 1860. The aggregate of the populations of the towns and counties in 1905 was 72,562 and the total number of families 14,519, of which 6668 were American. The increase in population since 1860 was 18,703, of which more than 4000 had taken place prior to 1870 and 14,289 in the thirty-five years following. The aggregate number of families was 14,519 in 1905, whereas in 1870 it had been 10,791, and the American heads of families numbered 6668 as against 2018 in 1870. The number of intermarriages is therefore out of pro-

portion to the population increases, as we should expect, showing a definite tendency on the part of foreign stocks toward amalgamation with the American. That tendency, not unnaturally, is stronger in the counties and towns where the American population was dominant, and weaker where that element was subordinate. This study confirms the view, often expressed, that the Americanization process takes place with virtual spontaneity except in the cases of foreign populations settled in compact colonies.

The proof, derived from the 1905 census, that marriages among persons of foreign speech, like the Germans, tend to remain intra-racial, confirms previous studies on the subject of intermarriages.³ The disposition of foreign-born men to marry American-born women of the same stock is also in harmony with the results of these more extended researches. There is a question, however (in relation, let us say, to Ozaukee County), of the extent to which the German men who married American women of German parentage may have represented a surplus of men over women in the German immigration and how far their mates may have represented a surplus of females over males among the native-born of German stock. It may be that a social law of supply and demand applies in this case. Also, if we knew the excess of single young men of American birth, who were going west or to the cities, over single young women, that might account in part for the discrepancy between the number of German mates of American-born women and the number of American-born mates of foreign-born women.

³ Such as Arthur Henry Moeck's thesis (MS), *Intermarriages in Milwaukee* (University of Wisconsin, 1922); and Julius Draschler, *Democracy and Assimilation* (New York, 1920).

Let us now inquire how far "good schools," so strongly relied upon by Doctor Huebschmann as a means of unifying a diverse population, cooperated with other factors in what we have come to call the Americanization process. It is a well-known fact that wherever the public school was the sole educational resource in a mixed American and foreign neighborhood, the children of foreigners rapidly lost their distinctive racial traits and became assimilated to the American type. On the other hand, in communities which were made up predominately of some foreign group like the German, and where private schools conducted in the language of the people largely supplemented or supplanted the public schools, a different result was noticeable. In the four lake-shore counties both conditions are represented. The people of Racine and Kenosha counties were usually intent on maintaining the principle of universal schooling through the public school. For a number of years foreigners were not numerous and the public school gained enormous prestige among the entire population. The few religionists, Protestant and Catholic, who insisted on giving their children private instruction were apt to send them to a parochial school in their church town for a few weeks, allowing them otherwise to remain almost continuously in the public school. The speech, the social habits, the prevailing customs of the American-born Germans became in consequence hardly distinguishable from those of the "Yankees," who under those circumstances were looked to as the social norm. In the northern counties the Germans often constituted so nearly the whole of the population, and had such a definite and vigorous religious organization, that they made the question of the maintenance of the mother tongue an

issue. Since under the law the public school had to be conducted in English, these people, in many of the neighborhoods, emphasized the private and parochial school where their children could be taught to read and speak good German and be instructed also in the riches of the German literary inheritance. The children in the private schools learned English too, at least theoretically, but not as they learned German. Besides, they were not required to use it in their every-day concerns, practically every one with whom they came in contact speaking German at least as well as English. It is said, on high authority, that Irish families living distributed among the Germans in parts of Ozaukee County spoke German.⁴ German was also, for many years, the playground language of the public schools.

Time, the growth of intercommunication, and the progressive building up of public school education have changed these conditions. Still, it is not uncommon for persons whose parents were born in that portion of Wisconsin to reveal the effects of the earlier discipline. We are not discussing the relative advantages or disadvantages of the two contrasted conditions. Doubtless in becoming thoroughly Americanized during the few early years of school attendance, persons of foreign parentage gained some real benefits. Doubtless, too, there were cultural advantages in the acquisition of a foreign language and its literature, even at the expense of fluency in the use of English. These matters will be referred to again in a later chapter. Here we merely wish to point out, what is an indubitable fact, that the northern Germans frequently remained Germans to the third American generation, while the southern Germans were apt to become "Yankees" in the second generation.

⁴ Letter of Balthasar Henry Meyer, dated January 29, 1925.

There were social consequences of the rapid transformation of types. Among them was the tendency, already noted, for young men of foreign extraction to intermarry with the older American stock⁵ and also the tendency to depart from the church affiliations of their parents and establish new connections with American churches. This was particularly true among Protestant foreign families. An adequate social census of the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches would reveal the presence in them of large numbers of those whose parents were members of the Lutheran, the Evangelical, or the Dutch Reformed church.

One powerful motive for the mastery of American ways and the American speech was the desire to qualify for success in business or in politics. Even if, as in many northern neighborhoods, the local environment made no such demand on a man, the enlargement of his circle of activity and multiplication of his contacts on entering public life enforced attention to these matters. The German who went to the legislature from Ozaukee or Milwaukee County, or became a candidate for a state office, would be stimulated to thumb grammar and dictionary pretty industriously by way of preparation for

⁵ The town of Caledonia, Racine County, in 1905 had a total population of 3173. There were 613 families, of which number 251 had American heads and 362 foreign-born heads. The foreign groups were principally Bohemians, Germans, and Irish. The number of intermarriages between those of foreign birth and those of American birth was 82. Now, the number of marriages of American-born couples who represented two distinct blood lines was 92, 10 more than the total number of technical intermarriages. In 11 of the 92 cases the man was American-born, with American-born parents; in 16 the woman was American-born of native parents. Thirty-five of the men and 30 of the women were American-born of foreign parents. Some of the other towns of that county and of Kenosha County would show a much higher proportion of old American stock.

his duties, or to gain facility as rapidly as possible by practice. Fortunately, most Germans who aspired to high office, if they had been educated in Germany, were so well trained that the furbishing up of their English was a simple process compared with the struggle an intelligent Yankee would have had in learning the German language. Thus it transpired that the political service of Germans, which tended directly toward unity with Americans, had an important indirect influence in the same general line. For every German leader who attained distinction by the aid of the English language became to his people a living exemplar of its benefits and a powerful argument for its mastery by the youth of his race. The same was true in the case of the German whose business or professional success turned on the aptness of his linguistic approach to his fellows of exclusively English speech. In fact, unusual success in any field opened wide the door of social opportunity to the family of the successful immigrant. His children would be sure to attend the American high school or college; they could, if they chose to do so, intermarry with American families, and fraternize on equal terms with Americans of the older lineage in church, in lodge, and in the home. Success, in short, wiped out invidious distinctions. It might leave to the foreign-born the full enjoyment of his peculiar racial tradition, its literature and its art. But these would be superadded to his appreciation and enjoyment of things American and his association with persons to whom such things were all in all.

One characteristic outward difference today between a lake-shore rural community north and one south is that the former is almost sure to have one or more "taverns," each built up around a bar-room, while the

latter will have few examples of the kind. The drinking saloon was an important social center of the German neighborhood. In it, or in an adjacent hall, occurred the dances which constituted, and still constitute, a principal recreational feature in which both sexes participate. At present these places are supposed to dispense only soft drinks, whereas before the days of national prohibition their staple was beer, with subsidiary stocks of more powerful and more expensive liquors. There is much testimony to show that their influence upon the young men was exceedingly bad. Something in the American atmosphere, or more likely in the social environment, seems fatal to that moderation in drinking which in Germany, France, and Italy is a rigid rule of decent conduct. In consequence, a heavy percentage of the farm boys became drunkards and wastrels, though it does not follow that the majority of these were of German families. They were quite as likely to be Americans, Irish, or persons of other foreign stocks. The Germans supplied the steady demand for a convenient place to meet for beer drinking and sociability; other races supplied at least their full quota of victims to the drinking habit there inculcated.

In projecting the future of rural social life, the disappearance of the saloon eliminates the chief difference between the sections of our four-county strip. There is no reason now why the customary American amusements—bowling, baseball, “horseshoe,” dancing, and the sedate “sociable”—should fail to interest almost equally the young people of every portion of the area. Some towns in the southern counties have supported public halls, used mainly for dances but also for lectures and other entertainments. The rural schools both north and south are social centers where dancing is some-

times permitted. The Germans, however, developed an important new interest in the higher ranges of social enjoyment when they began to accustom Americans to the delights of good music, as they did very soon after the first immigration.⁶ They maintained their musical superiority by means of local *Musik Vereine*, *Maennerchöre*, orchestras, etc., and by the *Saengerfeste* held periodically on a competitive basis. The influence of these organizations extended to the remotest villages and farms. The Welsh people, the Bohemians, the Scandinavians, and other foreigners likewise contributed to the musical education of Americans.

For many years, while Yankees and Germans were learning to appreciate each other's good qualities, each group was easily irritated by those customs of the other which contrasted most strongly with its own. To the quiet, church-going New Englander or New Yorker the German's disposition to make Sunday a day of jollity was simply abhorrent. Believing in the efficacy of law as a means of maintaining social standards, Yankees had incorporated in the legal code what was in spirit and almost in letter the Massachusetts law relating to Sunday observance. In its original form (approved in March, 1839) the principal section of this law reads: "No person shall keep open his shop, warehouse or work-house, or shall do any manner of business, or work, except only works of necessity or charity, or be present at any dancing, or any public diversion, show or entertainment, or take part in any sport, game or play on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday;

⁶ Writing to John H. Tweedy, 1841, Hans Crocker says, speaking of a Milwaukee dancing party: "The music—3 Germans, is infinitely better than we have ever had and equal to any I have heard in a ballroom." This is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, mention of German musicians in Milwaukee.

and every person so offending shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two dollars for each offense.”⁷ The Wisconsin law did not name drinking saloons or “groceries” as “businesses” which were to be kept closed on Sunday (although the prohibition of “any manner of business” would seem to comprehend the liquor trade with the rest), because this matter was covered in a separate law, to be discussed presently.

The history of this Wisconsin Sunday law is an admirable commentary upon the American disposition to compromise with circumstances. It could have been, and probably was, enforced during the early period in sections like the southeastern counties, where so large a part of the population was devoted to the Puritan ideals of life. It had not been so readily enforceable in the lead region of the southwest, and within a few years, with the coming of the Germans to the lake shore, the opportunity of enforcing it there grew steadily less. The upshot was that occasional, spasmodic appeals were made to that statute, but in general no attention was paid to it, save in cases of the flagrant abuse of their virtual immunity by some group or interest. The Germans were permitted to have their beer gardens, their music and dancing, and no one protested so long as these were conducted with order and decorum. In the long run, a fine spirit of tolerance grew up, which to the more thoughtful compensated for a partial loss of “the American Sabbath.” This tolerance was mutual. Foreigners, with their different conception of Sunday,

⁷ This was one of the sections in the law “Of offenses against chastity, morality and decency.” It was introduced in the Territorial House of Representatives by Edward V. Whiton (afterwards chief justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court) for the committee on revision of the laws and passed apparently without much discussion. Yet it has persisted almost unchanged to the present time.

learned to respect the American prejudice in favor of a quiet day, marked by the general observance of religion, the suppression or minimizing of business activities, and the avoidance of anything like social contention or other forms of clamorous disturbance. Occasionally the Puritan inheritance on the one side manifested itself in an excessive zeal to abolish all forms of Sunday amusements, and quite as often a contemptuous disregard of American scruples on the part of some of the foreign element created ripples of unpleasantness. In such cases the good sense and accommodating spirit of both classes were brought into play to prevent much harm being done.

With the passage of years and the accumulation of court decisions involving the Sunday law, amendments, usually in the form of additional sections, have been made. For example, there was added, not so many years ago, a section declaring that general merchandising was not a work of "charity or necessity." A provision of similar import has lately been added covering barber shops. On the other hand, transportation has been declared a work of necessity.

On the whole, it may be said that the law has not worked badly, and the successive legislatures doubtless have been convinced of its usefulness; otherwise it would not have been retained. Large classes of tradesmen have come to its support, as a desirable means of preventing unfair competition on the part of those who would keep open places of business on Sunday but for the threat that the law would be invoked against them. Laboring classes generally are in favor of it, on the ground that employers should be compelled to grant "one day's rest in seven." The law has been tempered to the farmer, whose situation is peculiar, and I know

of no court decision declaring that harvesting or getting in hay on Sunday is not a work of necessity or charity.

Some rather unexpected applications of the law are recorded in judicial decisions. For example, tradition has it that two ministers in one of the county towns felt deeply aggrieved by the fact that a group of the local boys played baseball on the Sabbath. Zealous to put an end to this desecration of the Lord's day, they attended one of the games, took the names of the boys engaged, and the next day lodged information against each and every one of them. The trial came on; the clergymen gave in their testimony, but the jury remained unconvinced and the accused went scot free. Soon afterwards some of these boys brought an accusation against the two ministers, charging them with violating the Sunday law by attending a baseball game on that day, and now the jury saw the justice of fining these men to the full limit fixed by statute. In 1871 the town of Wauwatosa was made defendant in a lawsuit whereby one Sutton, of Columbus, sought compensation for damages sustained from a defective bridge in that town. He was driving a herd of cattle to the Milwaukee market when the bridge went down, killing some of the animals and injuring others. The town set up the defense that if Sutton had not been engaged in violating the law against working on the Sabbath he would have sustained no damages from the bridge, whether faulty or not, and the lower court non-suited Sutton on that ground. But the supreme court decided otherwise, holding that there was no relation between the act of violating the Sunday law, for which Sutton might bring upon himself a fine of two dollars, and the breaking of the bridge by his herd. The same weight of beef would have produced the same result on any other day.

Besides, if Milwaukee had been in extreme need of food through some such calamity as had recently befallen Chicago, the driving of the cattle on Sunday might actually have been a work of necessity or charity. Still, that would have made the stringers of the bridge no stronger to bear the weight to which the plaintiff's herd subjected it.⁸

The subject of intoxicating liquors was a bone of fierce contention in Wisconsin during the first six or seven years after statehood. In that interval the Yankee element tried out a drastic plan of regulation which sought to make the vendor of liquor responsible for all damage which might result either to the individual or to the community from his sale of intoxicants. This plan, involved in the so-called Smith law, which was passed in 1849 and strengthened by amendment the next year, eventually proved a failure, and was given up in 1851. But from the outset it encountered the determined opposition of the Germans of Milwaukee and Ozaukee counties, representatives of the latter county introducing the first repeal bills in 1850. The Yankees tried to substitute a prohibition measure and after several failures passed such a bill through both houses of the legislature in 1855, after securing a popular endorsement of the principle at the general election of 1853. But they were defeated in the end through the governor's opposition and the growing power of the Germans. Milwaukee and Ozaukee (and Washington) counties were leaders of the opposition to prohibition, while Racine and Kenosha were pronouncedly in its favor. The popular vote against the "Maine law" in Milwaukee County in 1853 was 4381, while only 1243 went in favor. When the prohibitory law was passed in 1855 it

⁸ The decision was by Chief Justice Dixon. See *29 Wis.*, 21ff.

affected only the sale of intoxicants, not their manufacture, as was usual, evidently because the legislature was compelled to deal tenderly with Milwaukee's extensive brewing interests.

On the whole, it may be said that the licensing policy as applied to spirituous liquors was a victory for the German opponents of Yankee "illiberality," as they termed it. Both political parties courted the Germans, and both virtually conceded to them the privilege of deciding how the liquor question should be dealt with.⁹

⁹ On this general subject, see the author's paper, "Prohibition in Early Wisconsin," in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, viii, 281-299. In the 1870's the liquor question was revived. H. J. Deutsch, *Wisconsin Politics in the Decade 1870 to 1880*. MS.

CHAPTER X

BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

THE educational history of a community, broadly considered, is the history of its civilization. Such history involves a good deal more than an account of the schools, yet these are its central feature and often serve as a key to the whole.

In narrating the school history of the four lake-shore counties, we are confronted once more with a set of influences arising out of the cooperating and contrasting social traits of Yankees and Teutons. The New Englanders' zeal for universal education expressed itself most fundamentally on the local stage. Through the town meeting and the school meeting every one had an opportunity to make his voice heard; and while objectors on the score of too much taxes were rarely absent from these gatherings of citizens, the cause of education was generally defended with reasonable success. In all of New England, in New York, and other divisions of Yankeeland, the state also played a part in promoting the public school, but the chief responsibility was assumed and the burden carried by the citizens of each local unit.

Conditions in Germany were in that respect somewhat different. Local government institutions there were less highly developed, and local public activities of every sort were influenced much more largely from above. Education was an affair primarily of the state with local participation in its management, rather than

of the locality with state participation in regulation, as in New England. The state specified what schools must be maintained, the mode of their support, the training of the teachers, the curricula to be administered, and required parents to send their children for prescribed periods.¹ While it is true that by 1840 the education provided in most of the German states was more thorough than that supplied by the common schools in America, the German people were somewhat deficient in that local and personal initiative in educational matters which was the mainspring of New England's success; and, on the other hand, the assertive localism and individualism of the Yankee type and other American types were opposed to the most successful cooperation on a statewide basis. Germans were more accustomed to wait upon the action of the government than to proceed by small groups on their own account. Their habit of response to the state's instructions, and their general acquiescence in centralizing tendencies, were destined to prove an exceedingly valuable factor in the building up of a state system of public schools such as the new commonwealth in the American West required.

Under the circumstances which governed educational problems in early Wisconsin these social qualities and habits of Yankee and Teuton, divergent though they were in some particulars, tended to supplement each other helpfully in the public interest. It was of the first importance that towns, villages, and small rural neighborhoods should insist on public schools, and by relentlessly driving for their object overcome the inertia and indifference of the larger public. The Yankees

¹ Victor Cousin, *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*. Translated by Sarah Austin, London, 1834. *Passim*.

could be depended upon to start local movements here and there, thus providing the leaven for leavening the lump. But it was equally important that what was done well in some local units should be generalized by the establishment of a thoroughgoing state system of school regulations, and in striving for that objective the leaders found the habits and predilections of the German element a splendid support.

Perhaps the first "public school" in Wisconsin Territory was the one which Edward West conducted at Milwaukee during the winter of 1836-37. Milwaukee became a flourishing Yankee village in 1836, and that fall a school district was organized of which Byron Kilbourn was one of the officers. Mr. West, a youth of eighteen years who had just graduated from Washington and Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, was put in charge and proved successful even when the number of pupils ran up to seventy, as it did sometime during the winter. Mr. West also taught writing to older persons in the evening. The next year he entered upon his career of surveyor, and later became interested in the development of water powers at Appleton, where he made his home for many years.²

This Milwaukee school, however, although a public school in the technical sense that it was under public management, may not have been a free school; that is, parents may have been required to pay a moderate rate of tuition for the children instructed. This was the type of the pioneer school in newly formed school districts almost everywhere, the alternative being a reliance

² *Wisconsin Journal of Education* (N. S.), viii, 91, 191; also ix, 182, and *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vii, 483 (A. W. Kellogg's narrative); also J. W. Stearns (ed.), *The Columbian History of Education in Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1893), 13.

on private schools. In Milwaukee educational matters for several years after 1837 seem to have been left almost wholly to private arrangement. A public school was also a free school if the entire cost of its support was derived from sources which were public, like a school fund accumulated from the proceeds of public property or from taxes laid indifferently on the property of the people. In a free school parents were not expected to pay tuition for their children who were pupils therein. But schools of that type might be maintained for special groups of children, like the poor; they might be for children of a certain grade, like those in the primary, the more advanced pupils depending upon private instruction; or they might be designed to afford a full opportunity for all children of school age and of all grades below the college.

The first two types may well have existed contemporaneously, from a very early period, in a number of Wisconsin districts. Villages like Green Bay, Milwaukee, Southport, Racine, Mineral Point, Beloit, and others were almost sure to have something of the sort; and in fact we know that public schools which were apparently free to those expected to attend them were found in several of these places. Just where such a school was held "first" in Wisconsin Territory I should not be willing, in the present state of the evidence, to say.³

³ There is some evidence that the first common school in the state was opened at Green Bay in 1840. But inasmuch as that school did not persist, Green Bay can hardly claim to be the free school pioneer of the state. Milwaukee had free schools apparently as early at least as 1843, and continued them, establishing a regular system June 1, 1846. It now appears that Mrs. Atwood's school in Beloit, 1837, was paid for by the land company and hence was "free" to the children of the settlers. *Beloit News*, March 31, 1926.

On the third class of free schools, however, the evidence seems conclusive, and one can say that the first adequate free school in Wisconsin that persisted—a school which, on the graded plan, cared for the needs of all children of proper ages in the district, was opened in Kenosha (till then called Southport).

Kenosha was not more purely Yankee in its social organization than Milwaukee had been in 1836. But by 1845 the metropolis had a mixed population, while Kenosha's people were, as before, mainly of New England and New York derivation.⁴ One of the New Yorkers, Michael Frank, a community leader of extraordinary prestige, was personally most influential in developing a free school policy both for the locality and for the state. As editor of the Southport *Telegraph* in the early 1840's, he seems to have been the first public man in Wisconsin to advocate a general system of free schools; in the legislative council, in 1843-44, he proposed a bill for the "more efficient support of common schools,"⁵ which was the first move for a system of free schools in the territory. The measure elicited much discussion, but was finally voted down. Doubtless it helped to pave the way for later action in the same line. Incidentally, it made Colonel Frank the outstanding protagonist in Wisconsin of the free school idea, al-

⁴ A census taken by Bolivar MacCabe in November, 1843 (see Southport *American*, November 18, 1843), shows that out of an aggregate population of 1820 in the town, 756 were natives of New York and 294 of New England, while 150 were of Wisconsin birth. There were 386 foreign-born, of which only 26 were non-English-speaking. In 1850 there were 956 from New York, 173 from Vermont, and 606 of Wisconsin, out of 2286 natives. Of 1162 foreigners, 553 were Irish, 244 German.

⁵ Michael Frank's diary (MS in Wisconsin Historical Library), December 11, 1843: "Ask leave today to bring in a bill for the more efficient support of common schools."

though of course many others were committed to the same educational interest. Wisconsin was organized and grew into statehood in a period when educational reform, on the free school basis, was a live issue everywhere and particularly in the regions from which the majority of her settlers came. It was therefore almost inevitable that free common schools should be provided for the children of the new state.⁶

Beyond the free common school, however, everything was in doubt. There was as yet no fixed purpose of maintaining advanced or high school instruction on the public free school basis, private academies still serving most communities for that purpose. A widespread sentiment existed, even among Yankees, which denied that secondary instruction was rightly chargeable to property and made it a strictly private interest. The public welfare, it was argued, demanded only that all be given an opportunity for instruction in the rudiments.⁷

It is to Colonel Frank's honor that he grasped promptly and firmly the less generally accepted and much more liberal view that the children of a community—all of them—should be furnished at public expense a school "in which all the useful branches of science shall be taught, from the first rudiments, up to the higher academic studies."⁸ It is doubly to his honor that he began an active effort to secure such a school at the January session of the legislative council in 1845,

⁶ Joseph Schafer, "Origin of Wisconsin's Free School System," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, ix, 27-31.

⁷ This was Horace Greeley's idea as late as 1850, and he had a wide influence throughout Yankeedom.

⁸ The Massachusetts law called them schools "kept for the benefit of all the inhabitants." *Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with Eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*, 1844, 105.

that he was partially and temporarily successful in starting a school that year, and kept doggedly at the business till the new free school was perfected July 31, 1849. The plan was launched when Colonel Frank brought home from the territorial council, of which he was a member from Racine County, a law approved February 24, 1845, which permitted District No. 1 in the town of Southport (the boundaries of which might be extended) "to levy a tax not exceeding \$2,000 in any one year for the purpose of building a school house and the necessary fixtures and appendages thereto, and for keeping the same in repair; and for payment of the wages of teachers and for the providing of fuel; for the purchase of all needful apparatus for the use of said school; and for defraying the necessary expenses of keeping the school in operation."⁹

By the terms of the act, it could not be put in operation until the qualified voters of the district should adopt it, which Colonel Frank and his coadjutors brought them to do (by a small majority) on the thirtieth of April following. One preparatory step had been to secure from the town meeting (April 1) an appropriation of \$500 for common schools, which was to pay teachers' salaries. They then addressed themselves to

⁹ See *Southport Telegraph*, March 17, 1845, for Colonel Frank's exposition of the school plan embodied in the special law of February 24, which he procured from the territorial council. "The Act," he says, "contemplates the uniting of the south and north ward, together with as much more territory as can conveniently be accommodated in respect to distance, into one school district. It also contemplates the erection of a school house of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the children within the limits so enlarged, and the establishment of a school which shall be free to all, and in which all the useful branches of science shall be taught, from the first rudiments up to the higher academic studies. The plan . . . has been adopted with entire success in New England and is now being adopted by the principal villages in the state of New York."

the problem of securing a vote of the district for a central schoolhouse, in which for more than two years they were not successful. They did, however, put the new law in operation by voting somewhat technically, it would seem (in view of the terms of the law), the sum of \$500 "to pay arrearages" on the existing schoolhouse and for a summer school. Since the "white school house" was a cheap affair, it is probable that the larger part of that sum was available for hiring buildings, and procuring equipment, fuel, etc. for the three or four free primary schools which the trustees established in the summer of 1845 and for the winter schools of 1845-46.¹⁰ An effort was made to grade these schools and to organize them in the manner contemplated for the central school, which was Mr. Frank's real objective. So much was done for the village in an educational way in 1845 that, could the organization have been maintained, it would be proper to date the Southport free school from that year. They usually called the collective group of schools "the free school," though sometimes the term "free schools" was used. It apparently was hoped that the people would become familiar with the idea in this manner and vote the money for the central school at the next annual meeting. Instead they voted the plan down by a large majority, and now a year of intense agitation was required to bring a different decision. Meantime, the town also refused to vote money for schools either in 1846 or in 1847, leaving the place with no public school facilities, practically, for two years or more.¹¹

¹⁰ Frank's diary, June 23, 1845. The schoolhouse was built in 1841. Frank's diary, September 6 and 25, November 21, December 9, 1841.

¹¹ The evidence of the failure of the 1845 free school is overwhelming. A succession of school meetings in 1846, which evidently

This was perhaps beneficial in the long run, because it brought things to the crisis which was necessary in order to convince the majority that adequate support of schools by the public was an inescapable duty. In October, 1847, an appropriation of the full sum authorized, \$2000, was made by the district towards a building to cost \$4000, another \$2000 being voted in 1848.¹² The sale of the old schoolhouse and lot for \$530 enabled the district to erect a building which cost about \$4500.¹³

accomplished nothing, was followed January 4, 1847, by a "solemn" meeting at which an "educational association" was formed which usually went by the name "Friends of a Free School." This association proclaimed (*Southport American*, May 15, 1845): "In the absence of anything we can call a public school, we have eleven select schools. . . . few places of 3000 inhabitants like ours are to be found where such destitution [educationally] exists." The best teachers of the 1845-46 public free school, notably H. Spurr, engaged in private teaching in 1846. The north ward school district, which united with the south ward in District No. 1 in 1845, seceded in 1846, and petitioned the territorial council to permit them to raise a total of \$800 (\$300 already voted) for a schoolhouse in that ward, District No. 2. Michael Frank's son John, who went to private school in 1844-45, and apparently to public school in 1845-46, was again in private school in the following school year, as Frank's diary shows. Finally, Colonel Frank's free school circular, January, 1848, contains ample evidence on the subject. Lyman, *History of Kenosha County* (Chicago, 1916), i, 213. It also shows that Colonel Frank considered the rate bill permissive under his law.

¹² This vote occurred October 18, 1847. *Southport Telegraph*, October 20, 1847. "The friends of the free school were successful in carrying their points almost without opposition. A year ago the decision was quite as unanimous the other way. . . . The general wants of our village in an educational way . . . so long neglected, to the great injury of our town, will soon be well supplied. The 'street school' according to present prospects will shortly be deprived of the monopoly it has hitherto enjoyed." But a second vote had to be taken in January. Frank's diary, January 24, 1848.

¹³ Report of school trustees, September 24, 1849. School clerk's record book for 1849 (MS).

It was the model school building of the young state for four years, when Racine's school building and school organization surpassed it.¹⁴

The system of education built up in Kenosha was admirably adapted to the needs of villages and small cities. Since for many years such communities rather than the large city type would represent the non-rural population of Wisconsin, the significance of the Kenosha example cannot be overstressed. It virtually guaranteed for such towns good schools from the primary through the high school, at least after 1875.

In the first annual report of the state superintendent of public instruction, 1849, Michael Frank, who was town superintendent in Kenosha, gives an account of the Kenosha school. The building was of brick, seventy by forty-three feet and two stories high. Each floor had a main hall fifty by forty feet, with two recitation rooms and a wash room adjoining. The recitation rooms were already proving too small in relation to the halls. Each was supplied with a blackboard forty by twelve feet, with patent desks and seats having cast iron standards, each desk to serve two pupils. The house cost \$4500 aside from the lot, which was donated to the district. The number of pupils was about 500, of teachers 7. All save the principal were women, whose salary in four cases was \$250 per year, and in two \$350. The principal received \$700. The aggregate expense for running the school was \$2400. "The studies pursued," he says, "comprise all the branches of English education usually taught in common district schools and academies, also Latin and French." The classification was according to the studies pursued, a number of classes being assigned to each teacher.

¹⁴ Frank's diary, July 30, 1849.

This is the best account of the school, at the time of its beginnings, that we have. Mr. Frank does not affirm that it comprises a complete high school course. Though an "upper department" existed from the first, there were no graduating classes for a number of years. High school subjects, like common school subjects, were taught by teachers paid out of a tax-raised fund, so that the school was *free* throughout. The training of young men and women for the work of teaching was one of the prominent aims. In the fourth year of its history the school had an enrollment of 614 pupils, though the average attendance was little more than half that number, 313. About 25 of those had taught school some portion of the year, and the principal (John G. McMynn) was receiving calls for more teachers, both from Wisconsin and from Illinois, than he could supply. At that time (1853) there was a library of 300 volumes, and the principal recommended an expenditure of \$150 for "a pair of globes, a set of astronomical charts, and chemical apparatus."¹⁵

Michael Frank always referred to this school as "the Free School," meaning no doubt a consolidated, graded school "for all the inhabitants" and extending to "the highest academic studies," not merely a non-tuition school, of which examples were found in Green Bay and in Milwaukee prior to 1845. Whether we date it from the year 1845, when the basis was laid for it, or from 1849, when the plan was completely put in force, it was the earliest school of that type in Wisconsin. The free high school act of 1875, which enabled other villages having only graded public schools to perfect their systems, was the logical fulfillment of his plan. After a

¹⁵ Report of J. G. McMynn to Kenosha school board, July 29, 1853. MS in Wisconsin Historical Library.

complete canvass of all the genuine sources,¹⁶ I am glad to modify as above my statement, based on the evidence contained in the *Telegraph* for 1845-46 and both that paper and the *American* for 1847-49, that the free school was first established in 1849.¹⁷ That statement might be defended on technical grounds, with the argument that the school of 1849 was *the* school Colonel Frank's law "contemplated" according to his own interpretation of the law. But to be technical is to be unhistorical. The *American*, supplemented by Colonel Frank's diary, reveals the activity of 1845 and 1846 in establishing and organizing schools which may fairly be regarded as the promise at least of what was more fully attained in 1849.¹⁸ The evidence from the town records, the newspapers, and the diary makes it quite clear, however, that the 1845 school (or schools) was only a partial and discontinuous embodiment of the plan.

Kenosha's admirable building stimulated wholesome rivalry.¹⁹ The union of two wards²⁰ in the same school organization contained a suggestion which other towns saw their way to improve upon, and the placing of the

¹⁶ These include (a) the school clerk's record book, of which, unfortunately, only the volume for 1849 survives; (b) the town records of elections; (c) Colonel Frank's diary; (d) *Southport Telegraph*; (e) *Southport American*.

¹⁷ See *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, viii, 457-458, and ix, 37-38.

¹⁸ I am indebted to Professor C. E. Patzer for calling my attention to the evidence in the *American*.

¹⁹ The traditional statement that this building was erected in 1845 (or immediately thereafter) and constituted from that time a challenge to the rest of the state and an argument to the constitutional convention in favor of free schools is unhistorical.

²⁰ The law of 1845 contemplated their union, as we saw. The two wards, however, after separating in 1846, remained distinct districts at least till 1852. A. P. Ladd Papers, Wisconsin Historical Library. C. Latham Sholes to Superintendent Ladd.

higher studies on the same tax budget with the lower was a courageous proceeding for which precedents were not then very abundant. The training of teachers for the common schools elsewhere was a sure means of gaining the approval of the wider public, which in turn would react favorably upon local public sentiment.

The year 1853 saw a rival to the Kenosha schools in the new system developed at Racine. A magnificent new building was there completed at the end of the year, and a regular high school begun which four years later graduated the state's first high school class. The organization of the Racine schools was superior to any other in Wisconsin at that time, and the excellence of school sentiment and the practical achievement of educational results in that young city were in no sense accidental. From the early years of the village, attention was directed by Racine's leaders to the all-important interest of general education. An article by "Atticus" (who has been identified as Marshall M. Strong), published in the *Racine Advocate* December 3, 1843, is conclusive both as to the existence of a proper interest in common schools and as to the funds to enable the village to maintain schools that might be wholly free.²¹ From 1842 schools had been maintained on the district plan. The income from the rental of lots in the school section, which by a rare good fortune lay within the village boundaries, had reached the neat sum of \$1000 by December, 1843; and that income was all disposable by the school commissioners, of which body Mr. Strong was one member. More districts were created, the funds from the school section rentals serving for their maintenance until after Wisconsin became a state, when the

²¹ Reprinted by E. W. Leach in *Racine Times-Call*, July 1, 1925.

Racine school section was sold for the benefit of the state school fund. The lots were sold at a shamefully low price, but still yielded about \$10,000. No doubt the rents had been large, for several speakers in the constitutional convention, 1848, declared the Racine school section was worth \$500,000.

While we have not the final positive evidence on the point, it is virtually certain that the schools in Racine, conducted on the district plan, were wholly free to the pupils attending them. And we have the testimony of John G. McMynn (given many years later, to be sure) that those early district schools were well taught, preparing pupils thoroughly for the work of the high school organized by him. In addition, therefore, to the Kenosha example, Racine society was animated by a genuine school spirit which aided powerfully to bring that place educationally to the forefront of Wisconsin cities.²²

A. Constantine Barry, who was city superintendent, was really responsible for the admirable plan adopted in 1852. This provided for a centralized board of education empowered to organize schools, hire teachers, and in short manage all educational affairs. The board each year determined the amount of money needed for school purposes, which sum the city council was required to

²² In the article referred to above (December 3, 1843) Mr. Strong said: "The advantages of such a fund, thus applied, are far beyond all human calculation. Its influence will not be confined to the youths alone, but it will affect the minds and character of all ages and classes. Other [things?] being equal, it will make Racine the most literary, scientific, and moral place in the whole west. Indeed, aside from this fund, I believe Racine will raise more money in proportion to its size for the purposes of education than any other place because this fund will create a taste for education which, when once in existence, will provide for itself." This statement proved prophetic. Racine led the state for a good many years after 1853.

collect by a general tax upon the property of the city. A subsequent amendment to the law gave the board power also to appoint the superintendent, who at first had been elected. This brought the Racine organization up to the modern standard. In fact, it became a model for the rest of the cities of Wisconsin.²³

John G. McMynn, who had been in charge of the Kenosha schools, lured by the brilliant opening for educational leadership which those activities prophesied, assumed the principalship of the Racine high school in the fall of 1853, organized the school, and graduated a class December 24, 1857. It soon became a popular source of supply for common school teachers, as well as an institution fitting students for college, or for entrance to professional studies.

Through the papers preserved in the household of Mr. McMynn it is possible to gain many significant glimpses into the life of the Racine schools during these early years. The picture of the high school which emerges is approximately that which one familiar with the story of the old academies would be led to expect. In Racine boys and girls ("young ladies and gentlemen," in the parlance of the time) were educated together. An air of great seriousness pervaded the school, due fundamentally to the deeply earnest spirit of the master reënforced by the "censor," who noted every deviation from the strictest rules of conduct and of industry.²⁴

²³ C. E. Patzer, *Public Education in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1925), 48. The law was approved April 14, 1852. See also E. W. Leach, "Story of the School Section," in *Racine Journal-News*, April 1, 1922. Other articles on education in Racine are in the *Journal-News* of April 8 and 22, 1922, both by Mr. Leach.

²⁴ "After the morning exercises," said the censor in one report

The school had its literary exercises stimulated by the preparation of a school paper. In the first year that "publication" was called the *Philomathean*. The numbers before us contain short poems, especially on "Spring", prose articles on "A Visit Home," "Death," "Affection," "My Old Homestead," "The Whaler," "The Kingfisher," "Things About Town," "The Wolf," "The Dog," "Valentines," "Song of the Snow," "Good-bye," "Hope," and "The Formation of Moral Character," with numerous other topics sometimes of a decidedly sentimental cast. The boys were apt to write on concrete themes, like the wolf or the elephant; the girls on contentment, true friendship, and other abstract themes—in addition to supplying the poems on spring and on winter. In 1858 there was started a weekly

of the year 1855, "we were reminded of the importance of cultivating a teachable spirit in order that we may in any way be benefitted by instruction." "Tardiness—like a stagnant pool is still in our midst; but we hope under a law that governs such nuisances, it will freeze over during the coming cold weather." "We had presented to us four lads who upon Friday night, last, thought to relieve themselves of the performance of duty by neglecting to remain after school; but we think that they find it more desirable to occupy a recitation room than to occupy the floor as delinquents." "During morning recitations a want of promptness was noticed which we attributed partly to unlearned lessons and partly to want of attention." "After noon found scholars restless and too much noise was made in moving books, slates and particularly paper." "That destroyer of the pleasantness of a school-room communication has been waging war against good order all day long." "Several visitors found their way to our schoolroom today." "We are reminded by our auditory nerves that the shoemakers must have supplied themselves unsparingly with squeak leather this fall." "Our principal spoke to us of the necessity of carefulness in dressing so as to avoid colds, and suggested to the young ladies the propriety of wearing india rubber boots—providing they don't think it 'vulgar.'" "With our song 'Good-night' we parted from school mates and teachers."

paper, which, unlike the *Philomathean*, was printed and sold. It was called the *Public School Advocate*.

The Racine schools had the then customary public examination. This function lasted two days in 1852, and included addresses on education by several prominent educators. The examination was attended by representatives from Kenosha, one of whom, on his return, gave to the newspaper at that place an account of the affair somewhat unflattering to the Racine schools. Naturally, this roiled the educational waters in both towns, and it also stimulated the educational interest of the people through the two counties. The custom of holding a public examination was persisted in for a number of years, scholarly laymen joining with the teachers in questioning the classes.²⁵

One of the first graduates of the Racine high school wrote, many years later, some verses on the "Old Days" in that institution. She notes that:

One hundred-and-twenty, file into the room,
And chatter and laugh, their cheeks all abloom,
Till the musical gong sends each to his seat,
And down the long aisles is a stillness complete.

A few words from the Bible, a prayer and a song,
Then a clear exposition of right and of wrong,
A plea for uprightness in thought and in deed,
"First God, then our Country, then Self" was our creed.

She refers to the boys' declamations, which the people gladly came to hear, to the "grand" subjects of the essays the girls read, and to the notables who visited the school:

²⁵ The examination of the high school classes in April, 1858 [or 1857] was participated in by Dr. P. R. Hoy, H. G. Winslow, Rev. M. P. Kinney, and Rev. G. M. I. Blauvelt. Scrap-book citing the *Racine Advocate* of April, 1858 [probably 1857].

College presidents, governors, noted divines,
Smiled on us full often with faces benign.

And Ralph Waldo Emerson came in to find
That Boston was only a trifle behind;
Horace Mann too addressed us with wisdom profound.²⁶

In his report for the year 1853, State Superintendent A. P. Ladd contrasts the school situation in Milwaukee with that in Kenosha and that in Racine. Milwaukee, with 12,679 children of school age, had but 4640 in her public schools. Deducting liberally for those who attended no school whatever, he concluded that about as many were going to private schools as to the public schools. The result was, the tone of the schools in Milwaukee was low. There the highest salary was \$500. More damaging still, many parents, who had been led to think of public schools as inferior to private, but who were too poor to patronize the latter, allowed their children to go unschooled. Nevertheless, the sum spent for private schools, if added to that spent for public schools, would maintain first-class public schools for the free education of all children. In Kenosha nearly four-fifths of all children of school age were in the public schools, which were being handsomely maintained; and by contrast no private school was able to make real headway there. The city of Racine, too, owing to the popular enthusiasm for free public education, had erected a schoolhouse "elegant in architecture, large in proportion, and more complete and commodious than any other schoolhouse in the state. They have employed, at a salary of \$800 per annum, a teacher, concerning whom I am happy on this occasion to say, that

²⁶ The poem is by M. F. McMynn and is dated Madison, Wisconsin, November, 1891. She mentions separately, aside from the principal, a man teacher of German, a man teacher of French, and five women teachers.

he has no superior in his profession. They intend that their public school shall afford in its various departments the means of a thorough academical education."²⁷

It would be futile to look, in the early years, for other schools like those of Racine anywhere except in Kenosha. However, the inland villages and rural districts of both the southern counties were alive to the importance of education, as may be seen from accounts of teachers' institutes, from the meetings of local teachers' groups, from the reports of town superintendents and later of county superintendents. In October, 1852, the state superintendent advertised a teachers' institute, similar to those recently organized "in Massachusetts and New York," to be held at Racine beginning on a given date. It would be conducted as a school each day, the teachers in attendance to take the places of scholars and to receive instruction in the several branches they would be expected to teach. The people of Racine furnished full accommodations for the visiting teachers, but each person enrolled in the institute was expected to pay a small fee to provide for the general expenses of the session, there being no public funds which could be used for that purpose. It goes without saying that attendance was voluntary, yet the enrollment reached the respectable figure of 75. Of these, Racine itself furnished 31, Rochester 12, Raymond 6, Dover 6, Mount Pleasant 6, Yorkville 3, Norway 3, and Paris 2.²⁸ Since the county had 56 entire districts this representation is seen to have been good. Superintendent Ladd, C. Childs, and A. C. Barry were the instructors. There had been an institute in the

²⁷ *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Wisconsin, 1853, 114.*

²⁸ There were five from Delavan, which was in Walworth County. The Paris delegates were from Kenosha County.

county five years earlier, however, and that was doubtless the first.²⁹

Another evidence of the primacy of the southeastern counties in educational matters is found in the story of the State Teachers' Association. Superintendent Ladd promoted such an organization by inviting leading teachers to meet at Madison in July, 1853, where a constitution was adopted, officers elected, and plans laid for another meeting in 1854. But the gathering, if such it could be called, of eleven men (six of whom were book agents) proved so nearly a failure that it was feared the idea would have to be abandoned. Mr. McMynn, however, pleaded for another trial and invited the others to meet at Racine the following year. The result was a rousing, enthusiastic meeting of one hundred teachers, the rank and file being from the southeastern counties, with delegations from other sections of the state. From that time the Wisconsin State Teachers' Association was an assured success.³⁰

It is not to be supposed that conditions in the towns of Kenosha and Racine were duplicated in the rural neighborhoods of those counties, but they doubtless affected the rural districts favorably. In 1852 Racine

²⁹ Frank's diary, October 13, 1847: "Went to Kellogg's Corners (Sylvania) in afternoon with Mr. Deming—gave an address on education in the evening—Deming also gave an address—after which the meeting proceeded to organize a 'Teachers' Institute.' This is the first institute on the plan of the New York State Teachers' Institute ever formed in this county or in Wisconsin." The institute closed October 20. It was for the original Racine County, which embraced Kenosha County.

³⁰ See J. L. Pickard, "Experiences of a Wisconsin Educator," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vii, 133-134. There is evidence that the movement fathered by Mr. Ladd in 1853 was started in Racine the year previous, and Rev. A. Constantine Barry appears to have been the leading spirit in the matter. See E. W. Leach, in *Journal-News*, April 8, 1922.

County reported 5 schoolhouses built of brick, 3 of stone, and 55 frame; Kenosha also had 55 frame houses, with 2 brick and 1 stone. That county had left in use only 5 log schoolhouses, while Racine had 9. The two northern counties offer a striking contrast. Milwaukee had 30 frame buildings, 7 of brick, and 33 of logs. Ozaukee County was still a part of Washington, which had 119 log houses, 12 frame houses, and only 1 of brick.

This is about what could be expected. Ozaukee and Milwaukee were not only the forested section, where erections of logs were more economical than those of lumber, save in the city and the villages, but most of the districts were so new that the original schoolhouses were not yet dilapidated to the point where new structures were imperatively needed. On the other hand, the two southern counties had been so well settled in the ten years beginning with 1836, that many schoolhouses built in those years had already been replaced, and if the first house had been of logs the second would surely be of lumber or of brick. Another test of the difference between the two sections of our area is the average pay given teachers, which for men in 1855 was \$26.65 in the south and \$21.30 in the north; while women received \$14.98 and \$12.77 respectively.

Milwaukee's school system ultimately became such a powerful influence in this entire region that some account of its early history is in place. The development was less rapid than in the two towns to the south, but ultimately the Milwaukee schools attained a position of acknowledged leadership in the state.

It would seem as if the promise which Mr. West's school afforded was not realized at once, for it is not till about 1843 that the newspapers bear clear testimony to

the existence of public schools in the village. This does not actually prove their non-existence, but it tends to show the inconspicuousness of such schools if there were any. Indeed, in 1843 and 1844 they were still inconspicuous. They were "poor" schools in a double sense; poor in quality and poor because maintained for the benefit of those who were financially unable to pay for the private teaching, which was regarded as the desirable type of instruction. Up to July, 1844, there was no adequate public schoolhouse in any one of the three wards.³¹ In the *Sentinel* of June 7, 1845, we read: "There is not a public school [meaning schoolhouse] in Milwaukee, nor has there ever been one. The building used for school purposes in the first district is old, dilapidated, unpainted and half unglazed, without playground or shade. . . . In this district, out of a school population of 325 children, between the ages of four and sixteen years, only about thirty are in the school. . . . Three hundred and eighteen dollars is all that is appropriated for the entire maintenance of this school, not one dollar for each child entitled to receive a common school education."³² A reasonable interpretation of this notice of Milwaukee schools would make the school in district number one, here described, a free school of our first type, i.e. for poor children. The amount of money, \$318, appropriated for it would pay the then current wages of a teacher. The rental of the miserable tenement occu-

³¹ See article "Schools in Milwaukee," *Commercial Herald*, July 24, 1844. It says that the last town meeting (April, 1844) made an appropriation of \$1000 for schools, and \$400 had been left over from the previous year. This is evidence that money was given in April, 1843. But in the east ward they have had no district school since last winter [1843-44]. It would seem as if the schools referred to must have been wholly free, i. e. publicly supported.

³² Quoted in Patzer, *Public Education in Wisconsin*, 45.

pied by the school would be paid by a district tax, and the fuel could be furnished, presumably, from the town's poor fund or possibly as in 1846, when the cost of fuel was paid to the teachers in the guise of wages and the teachers furnished the wood for their several school-rooms. Still, it remains true that from this showing Milwaukee was doing very little for the education of her children as a whole.

A definite impulse toward improvement came in the fall of 1845, as a feature of the general "get together" movement between the theretofore severed portions of the village now soon to become a city. A public meeting held December 3 appointed, among other committees, one on common schools, of which General Rufus King, the new editor of the *Sentinel* (who was recently from Albany, New York), was chairman.³³ The committee found that there were 1781 children between the ages of five and sixteen. Thirteen schools were in operation, nine of them private, four public. Only 228 children attended the public schools, only 356 the private. A fifth public school, soon to open in the south ward, would accommodate 80 to 100 more pupils. As to schoolhouses, there were none in the east ward, a small, inadequate one in the west ward, and a good one in the south ward.

The committee recommended (a) provision for the effective supervision of all the schools by a board of commissioners "elected or appointed annually from the several school districts or wards." These commissioners were to have exclusive power to control the schools, employ teachers, prescribe textbooks, and to determine the "rate-bills to which recourse might be had for the means of defraying a portion of the school ex-

³³ The other members were E. D. Holton and Francis Randall.

penses"; (b) that a clerk of the board be appointed who was designed, practically, to fulfill the function of school superintendent for the city.

The committee's report was adopted by a mass meeting held December 17, and on the third of February following, a special act of the council drawn in pursuance to it was approved.³⁴ It consolidated all districts into one, and provided a general board of school commissioners for the town, to be chosen three from each ward. This board was given full power of school management, but the money for the support of the schools might be produced partly by a per capita tax. A change in the law in 1852 reduced the number of commissioners and empowered the board to appoint a superintendent. This was not done, however, till 1859, when General King was induced to accept the office, which he held one year.³⁵

One interesting question upon the working out of the school law of 1846 refers to the rate bill. Such a feature was authorized but the commissioners never took advantage of it. From the first the public schools were absolutely free. This statement is repeated, with emphasis, in each of the three first reports, the first two of which were by Rufus King, president, the third by S. L. Rood, president. The people of Milwaukee supported their schools by taxation.³⁶

³⁴ It did not provide for the type of superintendency the committee had contemplated in its clerk.

³⁵ *Report of the Board of School Commissioners of Public Schools of Milwaukee for the Year Ending August 31, 1860*, 5. Jonathan Ford was elected superintendent, May 4.

³⁶ "The board are empowered, under the law, to issue rate bills, but as the sum raised by general tax [one-fifth of one per cent] was sufficient to carry on all the schools, it was not deemed advisable to resort to rate bills as a means of raising revenue. It was the desire of the Board to make the public schools, as far as possible,

The board's greatest problem was to secure school-houses, or rather schoolrooms, to accommodate the rapidly increasing school population; and that problem was not solved by 1849, though a bond issue had been ordered as a means of raising a loan for the purpose. Their first modern buildings were erected in the year 1849-50, but the city was growing at such a rate that accommodations were always inadequate whatever the progress in construction.

With the appointment of the superintendent, in 1859, went a reorganization and strengthening of the public schools. Included in the program was the opening of a high school, which was not maintained continuously, being closed down the next year on account of the "embarrassed condition of the school treasury."³⁷ A permanent high school was opened in 1868 and became, in the years following, a powerful instrument for educational improvement both in the city and in the adjacent country. Several of the superintendents—King, F. C. Pomeroy, J. C. Pickard, and James MacAlister, particularly, the latter of whom served the city for many years before being called to a similar post in Philadelphia³⁸—were able in a marked way to gain the

free schools; to throw open the doors to all, without money and without price; to shut out all distinctions, and to place on the same footing and to treat with strict equality, the children of our city, no matter what the condition, creed, or circumstances of their parents." "First Annual Report of the Board of School Commissioners of the City of Milwaukee for the Year Ending April 1, 1847," in *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette*, April 26, 1847. See also *Second Annual Report . . . for Year Ending April 1, 1848* (pamphlet), and same for 1849.

³⁷ *Wisconsin Journal of Education*, v, 31.

³⁸ In 1883. He was succeeded by W. E. Anderson. The public functions held in honor of Superintendent MacAlister prove that he had gained a wonderful hold on the affections of the community. *Wisconsin Journal of Education* (N.S.), xiii, 214.

confidence of the people, with whose united support they built up the schools of Milwaukee to a position of proud eminence in the country at large. Milwaukee's school exhibit at the Centennial Exposition was among the most noted. The French commissioner was so impressed by it that he was induced to visit the Milwaukee schools, which he praised very highly.

The question of teaching German in the Milwaukee schools was at times hotly debated by the board and the school teachers of the city. In view of the heavy proportion of Germans in the population, it is natural that a strong effort in behalf of German instruction should have been made, and this effort finally proved successful. The special act of February, 1846, already referred to, contains this significant clause: "No school which is now, or may hereafter be established within the limits of the city, shall be entitled to any share of the moneys raised or received for school purposes, unless there shall be an actual average daily attendance of thirty scholars, or unless the English language be taught therein as a branch of education." Theoretically it would seem that the English language could be taught "as a branch of education" in a school conducted in the German language quite as well as the German language could be taught "as a branch of education" in schools conducted in English. It therefore appears that the makers of this law contemplated the possibility of mixed schools, German as well as English, in Milwaukee, and from the letter of the law there would have been nothing illegal about such schools had they been demanded by the people in the German districts of the city. That they were not demanded—at least as long as this law was in effect—is a testimony either to the anxiety of the German element to cooperate with the

Americans in maintaining a uniform system of public schools in which their children could learn the language of the country, or else to the docility of German-born citizens, who accepted without protest whatever was given them in an educational way by commissions made up for years mainly of Yankee and Irish citizens. All teachers employed during the years 1846 to 1849 were English-speaking and with few exceptions bore English or American names, though a few had Irish names and one a Dutch name.³⁹

The question of German in the schools finally came prominently to the fore in 1870, when the board of school commissioners for the first time (it is believed) had upon it a majority of Germans. Teachers of German then were attached to each of the graded schools and the work of instruction was organized departmentally.⁴⁰ The popularity of the move was very great, but certain problems connected with it evoked much discussion. One was, how low down in the grades should the study of German begin; another was, how considerable a proportion of the pupils' time should be given to it. State Superintendent Edward Searing at one time expressed the decided opinion that the early study of German was a mistake. After visiting the Milwaukee schools and noting how successfully German was being taught to mere babes, and how well the same children were learning English, he confessed that while his theory

³⁹ D. Van Doren, who was also a member of the commission. He was a prominent factor in education. *Annual Report of Board of School Commissioners*, nos. 1, 2, 3. In October, 1846, he attended the educational convention at Chicago, where he was elected one of the vice-presidents. *Prairie Farmer*, vi, 353 (November, 1846).

⁴⁰ To a slight extent German had been taught in some upper grades at an earlier time.

seemed correct, the facts—so far as Milwaukee was concerned—were against it.⁴¹ Private and parochial schools, however, continued to flourish, and these in part were designed to furnish full instruction in the German language. It seems probable that the early development of this type of school goes far to explain the quiescence of the numerically dominant Germans under a public school régime which so long excluded instruction in their native tongue.

The earliest high school accessible to Ozaukee County students seems to have been the one at Plymouth, Sheboygan County, which was a child of the free high school law passed in 1875. That school was first reported in 1877, when it had 68 pupils on the roll and an average attendance of 33.6. There was but one teacher and the curriculum was devoid of language studies. Obviously, it presented only the beginnings of a genuine high school. The high school at Cedarburg, in the heart of Ozaukee County, which opened a little later, had a much more significant relation to the upbuilding of education in the region.

⁴¹ *Wisconsin Journal of Education* (N.S.), v (1875), 107, 458.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

BY the year 1860 the educational forces in the southern counties were well organized. In January of that year the Kenosha County Teachers' Association held a two-days' session at Liberty, a small village in the town of Salem in the western part of the county. One hundred and one teachers were present, which must have been practically 100 per cent. A large crowd of non-teachers who attended the meetings testified to the keen interest in educational matters among the citizens generally. The Congregational Church was used as an auditorium, and two ministers took active part in the discussions. The papers read were on such topics as "Home Influence," "Look Up, for Heaven's Above," "The Meaning of Life and How to Spend It." These were by women teachers. The president of the association spoke on "Responsibilities of Teachers." The resolution, "That the claims of common schools should take precedence of all other secular interests," evoked enthusiasm and it was unanimously carried. Fifteen men, including the two clergymen, participated in the debate—if such it could be called. Among the other resolutions adopted were the following:

"That no school teacher should be employed who makes use of ardent spirits, tobacco, or profane language"—which reflects the Puritanism of this Yankee community.

"That we regard the frequent change of teachers and textbooks a great detriment to the success of our common schools and that we urge upon all interested the propriety of engaging teachers by the year."

Much stress was laid in the report¹ of this meeting upon the excellence of the vocal music furnished by the pupils of Somers District No. 2. It was urged in the convention that similar results of musical training and practice ought to be sought in all districts. The reports of school conditions in the several towns were fragmentary, but on the whole encouraging.

In addition to the county organization some towns developed local associations. This was true even in the midst of the Civil War period, when many of the men teachers were in the field. In 1863, also, a four-weeks' "normal school" was held in that county, and a general "rousing up" of the people on educational matters took place.² This public interest was both a symptom and a cause of the vigorous educational morale in the southern counties. In the first half-dozen years after the close of the war, times being prosperous, the schools of Kenosha County appear to have regained whatever they may have lost during the troubled time of the early sixties, and even—if we may judge from the exuberance of the newspaper accounts—to have made considerable progress. During the school year of 1868-69 the Kenosha *Telegraph* conducted an "educational department." In it appeared not only county school news, but discussions of educational problems and finally a more or less systematic survey of several of the district schools. There was a county teachers' association meeting De-

¹ Published in *Wisconsin Journal of Education*, iv, 293-297.

² County superintendent's report in *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1863, 37.

cember 30 and 31, 1868, at the high school in Kenosha, the minutes of which occupy more than three columns in the *Telegraph* for January 7, 1869. They show that the teachers of the county were a thoroughly live body, interested not merely in methods, but in the subject of good school supervision, school legislation, etc.

Among the prominent teachers of the county outside of Kenosha City, where was so distinguished an educator as George S. Albee, afterwards the revered president of the Oshkosh State Normal School, were Hosea Barns, F. T. Lee, J. P. Briggs, V. Barnes, and others of similarly high repute.

The topics discussed editorially or by contributors included the pay of teachers, spelling schools, compulsory school attendance, theory and practice, the model teacher (which was a lampoon upon a teacher whose demeanor in the schoolroom lacked dignity), hours of study, self help, school visitation. There were also descriptions of spelling schools and of exhibitions marking the closing of school terms.

The most illuminating feature of the material published was the careful account given of several schools visited, the methods employed in subjects taught, the condition of the building, its decorations, grounds, and general adequacy. Such accounts were given of the school in District No. 1, Pleasant Prairie, which was taught by Hosea Barns; No. 11, Somers, taught by J. P. Briggs; District No. 12, Pleasant Prairie, W. G. Spence teacher; No. 7, Paris, of which the teacher was David H. Flett, and others. It appears to have been somewhat customary for the pupils of a school which liked its teacher to bestow upon him some valuable gift on the closing day—the most popular selection being an album.

After the close of the winter term in 1868-69 several teachers were promoted to more advanced positions. For example, J. P. Briggs went to Racine to become principal of one of the ward schools, and he took with him one of the Kenosha County women teachers. The summer terms were mostly taught by women. The man who had been editor of the educational department of the *Telegraph*, F. T. Lee, became a student at Oberlin College. Dr. Hays McKinley was the general editor of that paper. He was an old-time school man and especially interested in educational progress. He had been a member of the Free School organization in Kenosha in 1847, and delivered one of the Sunday lectures on education.

In 1870 Kenosha's county superintendent stated that in many of the summer terms not a single instance of tardiness was reported, for which a chief cause was the "honor roll" published in the county papers. He also reported that about forty Kenosha County teachers had been drafted off to other places, fully twenty being promoted to positions in the Chicago schools. The reputation of their schools and teachers, though resulting in many losses to other places, was bringing in much excellent new material, as was shown by the fact that the enrollment in the county institute exceeded by 20 per cent the number of schools in the county. Moreover, the teachers of some years' experience were going, in considerable numbers, to the normal schools in order to complete courses or to gain the advantage of some professional training. The number of such in 1876 was said to be thirty. "Besides these," says the superintendent, "quite a number of teachers have, by a systematic course of reading and study, greatly increased their

educational and professional qualifications.”³ School positions were becoming more permanent. Only eighty-four different persons taught in the county during the last-named year.

In 1887, we find it stated that forty-five of the Kenosha County teachers had taken some portion of the normal school course and two were graduates of the elementary department. In two of the towns “union schools” were held in the summer, “in many cases members of the boards bringing the children.” These were general gala meetings of the schools of the towns and lasted only one day.

An important feature of the Kenosha County rural schools in the 1890’s was the development of the school libraries, which had been a chief concern of Lyman C. Draper during his state superintendency term, 1858-60. His plan was worked out about a generation later by Frank Hutchins. Said the county superintendent in his report for 1895-96: “Every town in this county is provided with library books and it is a pleasure to enter a school and find that some of the pupils have done more reading in one term since the books were supplied than in all their lives before.” And the next year he said: “The library is an established fact and an integral part of the school life of teachers, parents, patrons, and pupils. Comparing conditions of 25 years ago with those of today I can see that the library law is the greatest force in the betterment of our schools.”⁴

In one respect the rural schools of the county were suffering before the end of the last century; namely, in the declining numbers of children. Many districts had

³ *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1876, 89-92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1895-96, 59; 1897-98, 158-159.

under 20 pupils, one had 12, one 5, and three 4. This was due partly to consolidation of farms, wealthy farmers buying out others adjoining them; and in part to the fact that many children were being drawn away to private, which means parochial, schools.⁵

The history of the common schools in Racine County is not essentially different from that just presented. The teachers, to a large extent, were trained in the Racine high school, which graduated its first class in 1857; in the Burlington high school, the first fruits of which were turned out in 1863; in Racine College, and later in McMynn's Academy. The high school from its earliest days had had the reputation of being a valuable teacher training institution, and that reputation was maintained for many years. Doubtless the character of its enrollment was determined in considerable measure by the ambition of many pupils to become teachers. In 1879 a critical voice was raised against the high school on the assumption that its benefits went chiefly to the "children of the rich." But an analysis of the roll at that time disclosed that out of an aggregate of 134, children of mechanics numbered 45, of merchants 25, farmers 15, day laborers 15, sailors 11, manufacturers 8, drummers 5, barbers 2, doctors 2, bankers 2, clerks 1, hotel keepers 1, clergymen 1, teachers 1.⁶ The Burlington high school in 1878 graduated 19 pupils. There was a grand total of 102 pupils in the school during that year, and it evidently was the pride of the community. Its principal, E. R. Smith, a very influential teacher of that county, was serving his seventh consecutive year, the assistant her fifth, the grammar school teacher her eleventh, inter-

⁵ *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1897-98, 158-159.

⁶ *Wisconsin Journal of Education* (N.S.), ix (1879), 137.

mediate seventh, primary fourth. The president of the school board was serving his twelfth year and one of the directors his fourteenth.

Of the seventy-seven school districts in the county in 1879, seventy-six maintained a school "five months or more." Many districts had the same teacher year after year. Of the women teachers the superintendent felt "some might get married with profit to the schools, if not to their husbands." But that superintendent was evidently a cynic. He complained that attendance of pupils was poor, especially in districts "mostly foreign." About one-half the districts had uniform textbooks. Four rural teachers held first grade certificates.⁷ The question of attendance of children is discussed statistically in the report of 1880, when a very poor showing was made. Out of a total of 5514 children between four and twenty years of age, 2273 or 41 per cent were found in the public schools, 2792 were not found there. Among the latter group were 530 between the ages of four and seven, 642 between seven and fifteen, and 619 between fifteen and twenty. The middle group of the three, 642 children, was the problem. He does not know if, as the law contemplated, each of them furnished some "good excuse" for non-attendance upon the public school.⁸ No estimate is offered of the number in private schools.

The report for 1882 is particularly clear on the qualifications of teachers. At the examinations 144 had applied for certificates and forty-three were re-

⁷ *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1879, 105-109. Evidently some mistake was made in printing the figures, which do not check in all cases.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1880, 78-81.

fused. Six of the remainder were holding first grade certificates, twelve second grade, and seventy-five third grade. Eight teachers had enjoyed college preparation, twelve were prepared in the normal schools. "The remainder, with but few exceptions, were prepared in the high schools and academies of this county."⁹ A little later we gain a more encouraging view of school attendance than that given above. The number of children between seven and fifteen years, in 1883-84, was 2875, and the number of such in the public schools was 2312. The private schools reported 250, making a total of 2562 in school and leaving 313, or 11 per cent, with no school training during the year—not a bad showing by comparison with other counties.

The rural schools of Milwaukee County as early as 1866 generally complied with the law which required five months of school or over per year. By 1870 their supervision was cared for in two superintendent districts, the first comprising the towns of Oak Creek, Franklin, Lake, and Greenfield; the second, Milwaukee Town, Wauwatosa, and Granville. J. L. Devine of the first district reported that clerks were generally incapable of making out intelligible financial reports, but the people show increasing interest in education, vote money cheerfully, and demand better qualified teachers.¹⁰ J. L. Foley, of the second district, also complained of the negligence and inefficiency of district officers. He reported, however, that the few remaining log school-houses, of which there still were five, "mementos of the pioneer days gone by," were about to be replaced with modern structures. He also testifies that the law of

⁹ *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1882, 127-128.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1870, 68-70.

1868 permitting the teaching of a foreign language has proved an advantage. "It has conciliated many who otherwise would have been opposed to the public school. All that is necessary is to insist on English qualifications in teachers. We regard it highly impolitic to wage war upon private and denominational schools. Better far to sustain friendly relations with them and since we hold the 'inside track' we can and ought to make our schools so much superior to all others that the force of superiority will magnetically draw all others to itself, and then will our beneficent common schools, the pride of our land, be all that their most sanguine friends can desire."¹¹

The institutes in Milwaukee County seemingly did not overflow like those of the southern counties. In 1871 the report said "nearly every teacher" was present. The institute lasted three days, as against the two-weeks' or the four-weeks' institutes which were already customary in Racine and Kenosha counties. As to the attendance of children, the second Milwaukee superintendent district in 1876 had 3896 children of school age, of whom 1805 were in public schools and 118 in private schools. The first district had 4466 children, and of those the public schools had 2183 (or 46 + per cent), the private schools 526. In other words, in the rural portions of Milwaukee County, in the centennial year, 55 per cent of the children of school age were in school, a larger proportion than Racine County showed in that period. It was said that many parents were unable to clothe their children well enough in winter to send them to school, while in summer they required their labor. On the other hand, the rich or well-to-do were apt to

¹¹ *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1870, 70-72.*

send to "fancy schools" at a distance. Sickness and the fear of contagious diseases was another cause of school neglect, as was religious and social prejudice. For some cases there seems to be no explanation.¹² In 1880 the average attendance was 68 per cent, showing that conditions were improving. From that date reports are more cheerful. New schoolhouses were being built; two high schools, one at Wauwatosa, the other at Bay View, were opened, and country pupils were attracted to them from a distance of about five miles. A teachers' association for the county dated from 1882 and its meetings proved helpful. Milwaukee County by 1890 was among the most advanced counties of the state educationally.¹³

The educational history of Ozaukee County presents features of which some elaboration is justified. That county was a far more normal expression of the difference between the German community of the woodland area and the Yankee settlements of the prairies than was Milwaukee County, because Ozaukee was a rural region, while considerable portions of Milwaukee County were influenced by the expanding city. If Kenosha County reveals truthfully the Yankee attitude toward education, under the conditions established by state law, Ozaukee can be assumed to reveal the German attitude. Allowance must necessarily be made for the effect of economic retardation in that county as compared with the southern member of our group.

Roughly speaking, the county of Ozaukee may be

¹² *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1876, 105-106.

¹³ For a glimpse into a rural school in town of Lake about 1871. see "The Milwaukee County Howards," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, ix, 285-309.

said to have been "settled" from about the year 1850.¹⁴ Accordingly, with the exception of a few localities, like the Freistadt colony in Mequon, very little educational activity was called for prior to statehood, when the free school principle was put in operation by general law and a school fund created which stimulated the work of providing schools everywhere. Moreover, in the early years the local districts in Ozaukee County generally enjoyed the presence of a few Yankee families reinforced by other English-speaking people, who aided in putting the free school law into effect. A reference to the local histories discloses that the first school commissioners in Mequon were Daniel Strickland and Levi Ostrander, Yankees; and Harry V. Bonniwell, an Englishman. Some of the earliest teachers in the county were G. W. Foster, Helen Upham, and E. H. Janssen, the last a well educated German, who later became state treasurer. There were not wanting forceful, public spirited German settlers who were quite as ready as the Yankees to bear a hand in the work of organization, though tradition, ease of communication with state authorities, and knowledge of the legal requirements favored the effectiveness of the latter. From the first, also, there were obstacles in the form of religious groups interested in establishing and maintaining their own parochial schools, which, as always under such conditions, rendered difficult the task of setting up public schools except where aid was available from outside sources. This circumstance emphasizes the importance of the Yankee agency in helping to get the system under way.

Probably the most significant influence of the English-speaking element scattered through the districts of

¹⁴ See land entry plats, Appendix.

Ozaukee and other mainly German counties was in getting public education launched on the English language basis. We have seen how, in the city of Milwaukee, the public schools under the law of February, 1846, became exclusively English despite the fact that the law apparently contemplated giving the people the option of conducting the schools in some other language.¹⁵ It seems clear from the history of the Milwaukee schools that it was the administration of the law by men of English speech, Yankees and Irish particularly, which guaranteed their English character until the state's policy of requiring that the teaching of specified subjects should be in English was definitely settled by law.

It is my belief that the German habit of respect for administrative authority had much to do likewise in the establishment of English as the exclusive public school language in the rural counties which were prevailing German. For the first state law on the subject did not settle that point. In fact, it was almost as doubtful as the Milwaukee special act of 1846, reciting section 126: "Whenever the majority of the inhabitants of a school district at any regular meeting, shall express a preference to have other languages taught in connection with the English language, it shall be the privilege of the district board to employ a teacher qualified for that purpose and such district shall have their regular share of the public monies."¹⁶ The word "preference" suggests that another language than the English might be made the vehicle of instruction, which procedure at any rate was not forbidden by any positive statement, so that, if a district should decide on a second language, it could legally have made either language the teaching medium,

¹⁵ *Ante*, p. 219.

¹⁶ *Laws of 1848*, 217. Approved August 21, 1848.

giving the other the status of a "branch of education" (to quote the Milwaukee act). The revision of 1849 failed likewise to settle the question. It lists the subjects which shall be taught in every lawful common school, and provides that textbooks shall be selected by the school boards "under the advice of the superintendent of public instruction." That is the extent to which the law controlled the subject.¹⁷ It is a much clearer statement than that of the law of 1848, yet it does not in terms forbid the use of another language than the English. If a district board should decide, for example, to make the German language a branch of instruction and should employ a teacher trained in German who could still teach English grammar, there seems no reason why the resulting school should have been other than a lawful school, even though all teaching were done in German.

Against such an interpretation, however, operated the whole weight of educational authority, from the state superintendent through the town superintendents and the district officers. As a rule, English-speaking persons filled the town superintendency, and in the earlier years of statehood school boards only occasionally had a majority of Germans. Sometimes, however, there were disputes over the kind of school to be held, whether English or German, the former usually winning on the argument that a German school might be considered illegal, thus jeopardizing the district's share of the state school money.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Revised Statutes*, 1849, 195. "In every district school there shall be taught orthography, reading, writing, English Grammar, geography and Arithmetic, during the time which such school shall be kept and such other branches of education as may be determined upon by the board."

¹⁸ A somewhat notorious case arose in 1851 in the town of Herman, Dodge County. See Ladd Papers, 1851. The clerk and treasurer were both Germans, the other director being a native.

Although it is questionable that the courts would have held illegal a school taught in German so long as the law stood as above, a definite command to teach the specified subjects "in the English language" was contained in the school law adopted in 1854. This made all teaching in other languages than English illegal; and yet, as we shall see, it did not stop the use of German in the schools of Ozaukee County, where many teachers were highly skilled in German but had an indifferent command of English.

By the year 1870 the Germans were in very complete control throughout the county, and we therefore deal mainly with school conditions as determined by

The clerk being an educated German and the population of the district being mainly German, this man was wanted by the majority for teacher. The English-speaking inhabitants, or some of them, appealed to the state superintendent on the ground that the two German officers wanted a German school. This the clerk denied, in a paper whose English and penmanship both put to shame the communications of his adversaries. He said he was in favor of an English school: As teacher "he do not speak German until it needs to explain the words to our German children." This is an early instance of a custom which became rather widespread at a later time. Unfortunately, not all German-born teachers employed in Ozaukee County schools could talk English as well as the man above referred to. An old settler in the town of Fredonia, District No. 1, testifies that "the years that he and his wife attended the school . . . up to the year 1875 the school was conducted in the German language, the teacher could not teach [speak] the English language well enough to teach others. An old settler at Holy Cross, town of Belgium, told me that in District No. 5, Belgium, they had German one-half day and English the other half. In an old record of proceedings of District No. 1, Fredonia, meeting of July 12, 1869, I find the following: 'Motion made . . . and seconded to have 8 months school, 5 months in the English and 3 months German. Said motion was lost. Thereupon motion was made and seconded also carried to have 5 months school to be taught according to law to have one hour German.'" Letter of Alfreda C. Burrell, February 22, 1926.

such control. In 1861, when the Ozaukee County Institute was under discussion, the editor of the *Teachers' Journal* remarked: "There is a sort of inaccessibility and consequent geographical indefiniteness about that region." This, however, reflects the feeling of state educational leaders about the fact and does not necessarily represent the fact itself. It was assumed, by Yankee leaders, that a "foreign" county like Ozaukee must be in a sense out of the world. Yet C. H. Allen, the institute conductor, reported so much interest, both of teachers and of citizens, in the institute held at Port Washington, that he came away with "three cheers" in his heart for Ozaukee; and a correspondent of the *Journal* notes that educational matters are receiving more attention than formerly. Among other evidences of progress was the formation of a county teachers' association.¹⁹ Two years later the people had a county superintendent in the person of their leading German politician, Fred W. Horn. His report for the year 1863 is illuminating. He says the people refuse to tax themselves for a portion of the teacher's salary, hence they employ such a teacher, usually a poor one, as can be had for the requisite time for the money appropriated from the state school fund. Wages in other occupations being high, "any one—not being a cripple—can get better wages and steadier employment in working at any other trade or occupying his time with almost anything else than school teaching." He had encountered much difficulty in districts where the people desired to have an exclusively German school during either the whole or a portion of the term for which a teacher was hired. Nearly a third of the districts were peopled by Germans exclusively, while in the balance,

¹⁹ *Wisconsin Journal of Education*, 1861-62, 15, 63.

“with but here and there an exception, the Germans outnumber the other inhabitants nearly nine to one.” Evidently much pressure had been brought to bear upon him to certificate only Germans as teachers, and he seems to have taken a kind of plebiscite to determine whether this should be done for given districts. There was a very meager attendance at the last institute; a very few of the old log schoolhouses have given place to frame; all schools are of one room except those of Port Washington, Thiensville, Grafton, and Cedarburg—and the Freistadt school, which has an added German department. He is evidently impatient at the low qualifications of the teachers, though being himself a highly educated man it is probable that his ideals were elevated above those of most county superintendents. The children are reported generally “orderly and well disposed, comfortably and cleanly dressed,” and eager to learn.

The state superintendent, Josiah L. Pickard, comments on Mr. Horn’s report: “The law demands that certain branches shall be taught in the English language. These branches are Orthography, Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Geography, and Arithmetic. It follows that a qualified teacher must be able to teach these in the English language. It matters not what his nationality may be. In the German districts referred to by Mr. Horn, it would be far better to employ a German who understands English. By his knowledge of their native tongue he is better able to impart instruction in English even. Such teachers can be readily found. German may be introduced as an additional branch by the district board. See sec. 55, Chap. 155, General laws of 1862.”²⁰

²⁰ *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1863, 52-53.*

Horn's report, with Pickard's comment thereon, opens out the Ozaukee school situation rather well. The people in many districts were clamorous for an all-German school, and some concession seems to have been made to that demand by the county superintendent. Yet an all-German school was contrary to law, the penalty being the withholding by the state of a district's proportion of the school fund. On the other hand, the state had provided by law a legal means whereby districts could add the study of German to the list of subjects required to be taught in the English language. Should a district board provide for German, then a teacher versed in the German language was indispensable, otherwise the added subject would entail the necessity of employing a second teacher, which would require a district tax and was for that reason undesirable. On the other hand, if they could find a German teacher able to teach in English the subjects required to be taught in that language, their problem would be solved. This condition resulted in a teacher personnel which was largely German. To many of them English was decidedly an alien tongue, handled with difficulty. The necessity of explaining, in German, to the German children many points arising in the study of reading, arithmetic, and the other prescribed subjects, created a strong temptation to use that language almost exclusively even where it was forbidden by law.

It is little wonder if, under these conditions, the German children learned English painfully, or that trouble sometimes arose over the language question in districts where German was not the unanimous choice of the people. It was reported in 1868 that the

practice of teachers in doing most of their talking in German resulted in the non-German children withdrawing from the schools, under the complaint that the teachers were not qualified to teach the required English subjects—which, as we have seen, was an old complaint. The removal of the English-speaking children, in turn, took away the last incentive to teaching in English and made the acquirement of the language on the part of German children a virtual impossibility. “In other schools, where the work is done exclusively in the English language, you will find a great many of the German children absent, some inconsiderate parents saying they want their children to learn German not English, but the more intelligent urging that they can learn English only through the medium of German.”²¹ The Pickard compromise, a German teacher who could teach readily in English, seems a true solution of the problem. But this county superintendent’s opinion, that “the teacher competent to teach two or more languages is a *rara avis* in country districts,” must not be jeered at. He was doubtless right in the assertion that children were leaving school at the age of fourteen or fifteen, “with the most wretched smattering of any language, foreign or native.”²²

His testimony requires, however, to be checked with that of other official observers, and a few years later we hear from another county superintendent in tones much less pessimistic. He admits that in a number of districts the German children are unable to understand or speak English. This makes the employment of Ger-

²¹ *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1868: Report of P. K. Gannon, county superintendent of Ozaukee County, 99ff.

²² *Ibid.*, 1869: Report of P. K. Gannon, 72-73.

man teachers necessary, since Americans with a knowledge of German cannot be procured at the prices paid. "Now," says the superintendent, "while I have no doubt that not as much is done in the English language as ought to be done, and knowing as I do that these Germans keep more school than the Americans, that their children attend more days and that they take greater interest than do our countrymen, the question presented itself in this manner to me: shall I, by my action, kill these schools, create a feeling against the common school system and cause the establishment of private schools; or shall I take what I can get, knowing that the next generation—after the old stock is out of the way, and they come to associate more with us—will work into English schools entirely! Shall I cut off the only chance they have to learn a little English? They can and will establish and maintain private schools unless a proper course is taken. If I can get nothing more, is not an educated German better than an ignorant one, even if he is educated only in German? I have adopted the rule of licensing such Germans as can speak the English language so as to be understood; and in my visits I find my course has been the most judicious. I find pupils reading well in the third reader; I find the best pupils in Geography; I find good writers and mathematicians; I find well behaved boys and girls; and I wish I might always find these things in all of my English schools. I have no doubt public money may be sometimes appropriated for a school that might not be exactly a legal school, but I know it is used to the best advantage under the circumstances." On which the editor comments: "Necessity knows no law. Much must be left to the judgment of the superintendent in particular cases. The reasoning and practice of this

correspondent appear correct. Time will assuredly bring the result desired."²³

"In a county like this," said Superintendent Adolph Heidkamp in 1879, "with such a mixed population, having such various opinions, beliefs, and prejudices, time must be the chief element in a permanent reform." Yet, according to his observation, much had been accomplished toward the improvement of the schools of Ozaukee. Several Whitewater Normal graduates in recent years had helped greatly in the right direction. A number of the other teachers were strictly professional, having been trained in European normals; their methods, while less inclined toward a "machine order" than ours, were good and effective. A county teachers' association, whose meetings occurred once a month on Saturday, was well attended and performed a valuable service. This association had invested in professional books to the number of 120 volumes. Tenure of teachers in the county was relatively permanent. Eight teachers had a record of more than ten years in the same district. Only 74 different persons were employed during the year in the 69 schools of the county. "At least 60 per cent of those now teaching were employed in the same schools the year previous."

In addition to permanency of teachers' tenure, the Ozaukee schools differed from those in the southern counties by having only a single long term instead of a short "winter term" and a shorter "summer term." About half the schools in Ozaukee had a term of eight months. It began, usually, in the middle of September

²³ *Wisconsin Journal of Education* (N.S.), vii, 180. The name of the superintendent and of his county are withheld. It appears to refer to Ozaukee, and would in any case be applicable to that county.

and closed in April. The younger pupils, starting during the fine weather of the fall, were often tolled along through the entire term, thus being enabled to make more rapid and solid progress than would be made by young children in places where a summer school was maintained for such pupils specifically—for there they were apt to have only the summer instruction. The larger girls, also, were likely to attend throughout the term, but the big boys entered only after the fall work on the farms was laid by, the middle of November or first week in December. Of course, if there was an early spring, such pupils did not stay through to the end either.²⁴

It is not quite clear why the single term was hit upon, unless it was a German tradition. But the superiority of that plan over the plan of a detached summer term, held in the torrid weeks of June and July, was obvious. The southern counties gradually worked away from the summer term, as a nearly unmitigated nuisance. Possibly the fact that so many of the Ozaukee teachers were resident farmers, who needed their time on the farms in summer but could more easily get off in the fall, may have had some influence on the custom. Certain it is that for many years a large majority of the Ozaukee teachers were men and, as stated above, they taught the same school year after year. Wherever the summer school had vogue it was understood that the teacher either must or might be a woman. One effect of the dependence upon male teachers was

²⁴ *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1879: Report of Superintendent Heidkamp, 97-99; letter of Honorable B. H. Meyer, Washington, D. C., dated January 29, 1925, and letter of Dr. J. E. Reichert, M.D., of West Bend, Wis., dated February 9, 1925; also letter of Supt. Richard F. Beger, Fredonia, Wis., dated February 2, 1925.

that by 1880 Ozaukee County paid better salaries than other counties.²⁵ The demand for good teachers beginning to exceed the supply of those trained in Germany, resort was had to the state normal schools.

By that date the schools were coming rapidly forward, though attendance was still low, 49 per cent of the children of school age being absent from the public schools and only a fraction of that number being cared for in the private schools. That condition gradually improved. Also, the earliest attempts at grading the common schools occurred in the town of Mequon in 1881. The next year high schools were opened in both Port Washington and Cedarburg. Ten private schools in the county were then caring for nearly all of the children between seven and fifteen years who were not in the public schools, where 81 per cent of the whole were receiving instruction. Still the old difficulty of obtaining teachers who could qualify in required subjects and also teach German had not been fully overcome; so, some fourteen teachers had to be given special licenses in order to make up deficiencies in the personnel required to man the schools.²⁶

The testimony which goes to prove that Ozaukee County in the 1880's made notable strides in education is both contemporaneous and traditionary. Says one who served as county superintendent in the latter half of that decade: "A marked awakening in school affairs took place in the early eighties. . . . About this time a number of young people were attracted to normal schools—the Oshkosh Normal probably drew the

²⁵ \$3.25 above the state's average. *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1880: Report of Superintendent William F. Scott, 63ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1882: Report of Superintendent Scott, 118-120.

greater number—and after a year or two of normal training they returned to the county full of inspiration. The effect upon the schools of the county was an immediate uplifting. Terms were lengthened, wages improved, and an entirely different note was struck in school matters. From that time on normal school and college trained teachers have been given the preference, and to them is due in a large measure the excellent condition of the Ozaukee County schools today. . . . Perhaps Ozaukee County paid its teachers better than most counties at that time. My salary in 1884 to 1886 was seventy dollars per month for ten months terms in a one room school of seventy pupils in all grades.”²⁷

Dr. B. H. Meyer, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, who is a native of Ozaukee County, writes so effectively about the shift from German-speaking to English-speaking in his home school that his testimony ought to be preserved in this place. He says: “I began going to school on May 28, 1872, which was my sixth birthday. That, I believe, was the last summer session in our district [No.11, Town of Mequon]. The teacher was a German who knew English. At that time, and for quite a few years later, the playground language was German. The teachers probably knew little Eng-

²⁷ J. E. Reichert, M.D. Letter to the author dated February 9, 1925. Doctor Reichert mentions among the most influential teachers of the county during the seventies and eighties, Samuel Loomer, a Lawrence University student; Jason L. Sizer, another Lawrence student; S. A. Hooper and F. H. Blandell of Port Washington; Peter Cigrand of Waubeka; and especially B. H. Meyer, who taught both in Waubeka and in Port Washington. “As a teacher and a builder of character,” says Doctor Reichert, “I can only say he [Meyer] was inspired. He is remembered and revered by a large number of successful professional men and women who were once his pupils.”

lish—and possibly on that account the children made little progress in English. When I was fourteen [1880] a young man by the name of Peter Cigrand was employed as a teacher. He knew both English and German and made it a point to explain things to us. Under his instruction I made rapid progress in English. I believe all other pupils did the same; and from that time on the language of the playground was chiefly English. This was true to such an extent that my youngest brothers and sisters spoke English, not only on the playground, but at home with the result that English practically became our home language. The trend toward English in our family I believe was typical of what took place in nearly all the families in that neighborhood; and probably also to a greater or lesser extent throughout the county.”²⁸

It is clear enough from the recollections of Doctor Reichert, Doctor Meyer, and Superintendent Beger, that during the eighties emphasis on the teaching of German must have been far less than it was in the ear-

²⁸ Letter to the author dated Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D. C., January 29, 1925. Doctor Meyer mentions, among the leading teachers of Ozaukee County who came under his notice, first, Charles Lau, long principal at Cedarburg, then of one of the Milwaukee schools; second, S. A. Hooper, long principal at Port Washington; D. C. McGinley, a district school teacher who was later consul to Athens; Peter Cigrand (see note 27); and A. J. Kreutzer, who was superintendent of the county during Meyer's incumbency of the principalship at Port Washington. On the question of the use of English by Ozaukee County Germans in Cedarburg, Theodore Boerner, writing in 1888, says: "They became Americanized slowly, on account of the almost purely German surroundings, many remaining even now nearly untouched. This difficulty of assimilation is now fast passing away as the more frequent intercourse of the younger German-Americans with the outside is steadily withdrawing them from German ideas, customs, manners, and language." MS in Roeseler Collection.

lier period. Mr. Reichert, who received his early instruction in a Mequon district where were both Germans and Americans, recalls that all instruction was in English. That, he says, was also the condition he found in the great majority of the schools during the late eighties, when he was superintendent. "A very few," he says, "had a German hour, two or three times a week, but German was never stressed in any of the rural schools." Mr. Beger recalls that in his school days "instruction was always in English in all branches, but one hour per day was reserved for German reading, writing and spelling."²⁹

The fact seems to be, as predicted by one of the early superintendents, that as the original German stock passed away, the trend toward an exclusively English regimen in the schools of this German county set in strongly; and it is even probable that, as in the case of the Meyer family, the elders came to use English through the influence of the children, who used it exclusively in school. Also, the growing familiarity with English on the part of Germans long settled in this country made them more tolerant of its use by their children as the sole medium of expression, in school and in the home.

What is said above applies, however, only to the public schools and to those persons of German blood who were content to employ those schools for the training of their children. It does not solve the problem of the parochial schools, against whose alleged neglect of English teaching the famous Bennett law of 1889 was directed. But it does tend to show that, in all probability, a little more patience and a trifle more tact on the

²⁹ Letter to the author dated February 2, 1925.

part of public authorities might have obviated the unfortunate contest with the religious groups who maintained the parochial schools, thus saving the state from the bitterness engendered by the Bennett law episode.

CHAPTER XII

INTEREST IN HIGHER EDUCATION

ONE test of the efficiency of educational sentiment on the local plane is found in the representation of local communities in institutions of higher learning. If we could know for any given period how many young persons from each of our four counties were in colleges and universities, that would certify to the local provision of secondary schools and the estimate placed upon liberal culture. In practice, it is not possible to obtain complete statistics on this subject because the college catalogs are not always available. The study of existing catalogs is significant as far as these go. Only institutions in Wisconsin were canvassed, and the list of these was incomplete. Had we catalogs of all Wisconsin colleges, and of outside institutions patronized by students from this area, the result would be much more satisfactory. Still, it is believed, something can be learned from the studies made. The first division of time covered was what might be called the pioneer period to about 1880, and the institutions whose records were examined embrace the University of Wisconsin, Racine College, Lawrence College, Beloit College, Carroll College, Northwestern University of Watertown (a German Lutheran institution), and the Whitewater State Normal School. No attempt was made to segregate college students from academy students in the institutions studied. As a point in social history, tally was kept on the racial aspect of the names

of students, which fall mainly into four classes: American (or English, for there is no way to distinguish between these), German, Irish, and Scandinavian. There are, in addition, a few Welsh, Bohemian, Dutch, and other names.

The first point that emerges, on tabulating the results, is the small total of students from Ozaukee County. In the State University were 8, in Beloit 3, Racine none, Northwestern none. However, 17 persons from that county were in Lawrence, and 31 in the Whitewater Normal. Kenosha was represented at Whitewater by 52 persons, of whom 38 appear to have American names, 7 Scandinavian, and the same number Irish. Racine had 46 there, of whom 37 were American, 3 German, 4 Irish, and 2 Scandinavian. From Milwaukee County the number was largest, 72, and the surprising fact about that delegation, considering the German majority in the county, is the preponderance of American names. These numbered 51, with 7 German, 9 Irish, 3 Scandinavian, and 2 Welsh. Ozaukee alone sent a delegation in which was a plurality of German names, 11, as against 9 Americans and 8 Irish. Three seem to be Bohemian, but perhaps they are German too, in which case the aggregate of Germans would be 14. In the State University also Milwaukee had mostly Americans, 63 out of an aggregate of 88, while German names numbered 17, Irish 7, Bohemian 1. From Kenosha and Racine the University delegations were predominantly American, the aggregates being 42 to 7 German names, 7 Scotch, and 2 Dutch. From the same two counties went, in the period 1849-84, 83 persons to Beloit College and Academy, and of this total not more than 11 were of other than American or Eng-

lish stock, if we correctly classify the names.¹ Only 1 was German, 2 Irish, and 1 Bohemian. Of Scandinavian names (provided the Andersons and Johnsons were not Scotch and English) there were 7. The Methodist college at Appleton (Lawrence University) was even more rigorously selective than Beloit. It drew from Ozaukee 14 persons with American names, 1 German, and 2 Irish; from Kenosha, 31 American and 1 Irish; from Racine, 12 American, 3 Scandinavian, and 2 Welsh; and from Milwaukee, 72 American, 1 German, 2 Irish, 2 Welsh, and 1 Scandinavian. The registration from these counties in Carroll College was not very large, about 44 all told, and of these Milwaukee furnished 35. Twelve of the 44 names were other than American.

As a contrast to the almost exclusively American delegations in the colleges maintained by the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist denominations, Northwestern University of Watertown in the 1870's had an all-German registration from these four counties numbering 34. All but 6 were from Milwaukee County.

Racine College, Academy, and Grammar School together received from Racine County 150 pupils, from Kenosha 22, and from Milwaukee 149. Only 7 of the latter were German, 6 were Irish, 3 Scandinavian, and 2 Welsh. Racine County naturally yielded more non-American names because the institution had its home there. We find 8 each of German and Irish names, 10 Welsh, 4 Scotch, 2 Scandinavian, and 1 Bohemian.

¹ The tendency among foreign-born persons to Anglicize their names—for example, *White*, *Black*, *Young*, for *Weiss*, *Schwartz*, *Jung*—makes a problem and suggests that the foreign contingent may have been larger than the names indicate.

There were 3 German names and 1 Irish in the Kenosha County list.

In attempting to assign college students to the smaller local units, like the towns within the counties, we encounter the difficulty that as a rule only post office addresses are given. These enable us to locate the individual within a given neighborhood but not within the town limits. Neither do they enable us to distinguish the representatives of the rural homes from those living in towns and villages. For example, the University list for Ozaukee County contains 8 names. One of these is assigned to Port Washington, 1 to Grafton, 1 to Saukville, 3 to Cedarburg, and 2 to Ozaukee generally. The Kenosha County list, which contains 29 names, assigns them as follows: 12 to Kenosha, 9 to Bristol, 2 to Salem, 2 to Somers, 2 to Brighton, and 1 each to Paris and Wheatland. The meaning of this latter distribution, presumably, is that the region of eastern Kenosha County, tributary to the Kenosha high school, sent 24 students, while that portion of the county which was distant from the high school sent but 5. The Kenosha post office of course served both for the residents of the city and for those in Pleasant Prairie and Somers towns. We might justly consider the population of these towns equally fruitful in college students with the city population. Paris, on the other hand, which was just as accessible to the high school as was Bristol, sent but one student. Here we have another evidence of the comparative backwardness of this town, whose lands, partly low, heavy, and wet, were occupied to a considerable extent by foreign immigrants. The problem of farm making there, as in the forest, doubtless acted as a retarding influence. The western towns, especially Wheatland and Brighton, were accessible to the Bur-

lington high school. The three representatives from those two towns were Germans.

In the Racine County list were 13 who gave Racine as their post office, and also 13 who gave Burlington as their post office. The Honey Creek and Rochester delegates, 6 in number, were probably constituents of the Burlington high school also. If so, that institution must be credited with 19. There were also 6 from Union Grove and Caledonia. These probably should be credited to the Racine high school; thus the two schools, one on the east line of the county, the other on the west, sent equal representations. It will be remembered that Racine had a local college, which explains the comparative smallness of the number she had in the State University.

The Milwaukee County list, 88 in all, assigns 78 to Milwaukee. Of the 10 others, 4 were from Wauwatosa, 2 from Oak Creek, 2 from Greenfield, and 1 each from Granville and Franklin. This seems to confirm the results derived from Ozaukee County as a whole, and from the most distinctly "foreign" settlements in the other counties. Prior to 1880, the Germans, Irish, and other non-American stocks in our four-county area were not furnishing any considerable proportion of the students who went from these counties to the University. As a secondary point, we may add that the localities in which the foreign elements most abounded were less well represented in the colleges studied than were the others.

When we pass beyond the year 1880, which marks the close of what we have called the pioneer period in higher education, we find the popular interest beginning to deepen. By that time there were high schools accessible to the population in all portions of our area. That

was the crucial fact. In the absence of such schools—or equivalent academies—only an occasional family could afford to send a youth to fitting school and to college. There was nothing accidental about the leadership of the southern counties in the matter of college students during the earlier years. That leadership was due to the provision for secondary school training near home. If Ozaukee County had but few college students prior to 1880, that was because, until after the passage of the state high school law in 1875, there were no fitting schools at hand to attract the brighter, more ambitious boys and girls. They could and did attend the normal schools, as we have seen, because little advanced preparation was requisite for that, and the training received there could be promptly converted into earning power in the schoolrooms. They could attend institutions in the nature of preparatory schools for theological seminaries. This also was done, as is testified by teachers in such schools.² The theological seminaries doubtless received some candidates from that county. But for the pursuit of higher education generally the people were distinctly handicapped until the high schools got well under way, and the creation of high schools called for both leadership and a favorable community sentiment.

No attempt has been made to obtain a complete record of college and university students from these counties in our period. But inasmuch as the State University by 1880 had become the representative institution of higher education, and was open freely to all alike, an instructive, though by no means complete, view of the higher educational interests of the four counties,

² For example, J. H. A. Lacher, who was a teacher in Sacred Heart College, or Academy, Watertown, recalled a number of individuals from Ozaukee County who were students in that school during the period of his connection with it.

and localities within them, can be had by comparing their university registration and university graduation lists. Since, also, there was a rising tide of interest during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we shall find it illuminating to make this study in part by five-year periods, beginning with the years 1880 to 1885.

In that interval Ozaukee County had a total registration in the University of 5 persons. One of these took pharmacy, 1 law, 2 were special, and only 1, James Trottmann of Cedarburg, completed a full university course. Trottmann was of German parentage; the law graduate was D. J. Hemlock, whose parents were Irish; and the two "specials" were German.³ The pharmacy student was apparently of American stock. All but the last named were from Cedarburg, which goes to show that some powerful influence was at work in that locality developing the intellectual ambitions of the young men. We shall not be far wrong in identifying that influence as Charles Lau, the famous teacher referred to on a previous page.

Kenosha County, out of a total registration of 11, can be credited with 3 full-course graduates, 3 law graduates, and 5 part-course students. One of the three first named seems to bear a German name, Michael J. Wallrich, of Brighton; the two others, Arthur H. French and Alice Pennoyer, both of Kenosha, were of American stock. Five of the others were from Kenosha and 3 from Salem. The Racine County list of full-course graduates comprises 7 names, 1 assigned to Burlington, 1 to Union Grove, and the rest to Racine city. One of the 7 was of Irish stock, Patrick Henry Conley; the rest of the names were American. Of the bal-

³ Theodore Boerner, Cedarburg, and Frederick Robert Webber, Cedarburg. Hemlock, also, was a Cedarburg man.

ance registered (24), 14 were from Racine and 10 from Burlington, Rochester, and Honey Creek, save 1, who was from Union Grove. That is, the division noted in the earlier list, which places Racine County students in two constituencies, still persisted, though in the western part of the county other high schools at Rochester, Salem, and Union Grove were breaking in on the former monopoly of the Burlington high school, which however was still leading in that section. There were 4 German names among the 24, and 1 Irish.

Among 17 full-course graduates credited to Milwaukee County, 14 were from the city, 1 from Wauwatosa, 1 from Franklin, and 1 from Oak Creek. Nine have American names, 6 German, 1 Irish, and 1 Bohemian. The long list of other registrants, 50 in all, can be divided racially as follows: 25 of the names were American, 20 were German, and 5 Irish, making an even division between those of American stock and those of foreign stock. When we compare this list with the earlier one, it becomes apparent that the immigrant population was rapidly coming into its own during this period. Practically all were from the city of Milwaukee.

The second five-year interval yields a more favorable report for Ozaukee County and a relatively less favorable one for Kenosha County. Ozaukee had 5 in the list of graduates—2 in the general course, 1 in law, and 2 in pharmacy. Four of the 5 were from Cedarburg. Four others were pursuing a course in agriculture, 2 were specials, and 2 freshmen. Six of the 8 were German in name, as were 4 of the 5 graduates. Kenosha had but 1 graduate from the general course and 1 from the law course. Three others were pursuing the gen-

eral course, 1 the law course, and 1 the agricultural course. One was Scandinavian.

Racine County had 6 graduates from the general course, 7 from law, and 2 from pharmacy. There was a long list of registrants at various stages on the way toward graduation when the period closed. Four of the graduates were obviously of German extraction, 1 of Dutch, 1 Scandinavian, and 1 Welsh. From Milwaukee County the list of graduates aggregated 85. Forty-two were in the general course, 20 in law, 23 in pharmacy. All were registered as from Milwaukee city except 3, 2 of whom were from Wauwatosa and 1 from Oak Creek.

The decade 1890 to 1900 is treated as a unit. In it we find the numbers comparatively small for the rural area, including the smaller cities, and extraordinarily large for Milwaukee. Kenosha County had but 2 graduates from the full college course, one of them registered from Bristol, the other from Kenosha. From the law course 5 graduated, 4 of them from Kenosha, 1 from Salem. There were but 5 part-course students, 1 pharmacy student, and 9 whose course was unfinished in 1900. Racine did better, as her custom had been. The aggregate number of graduates from a four-year course, among her registrants, was 39, of whom 28 were from the city. Part-course students numbered 59. Of law graduates there were 9, 7 of them from Racine, and part-course law men 7, Racine having 6 of them.

Milwaukee County, rural section, had 9 from the full course, 19 part-course students, and 6 incomplete. There were also 3 law graduates and 5 agricultural students. Ozaukee County had 3 graduates from the full course and 1 who had had part of the college course followed

by a full course in law. There were 3 part-course persons, 5 with courses unfinished in 1900, 6 dairy students, and 1 pharmacy student. One of the full-course graduates was Balthasar Henry Meyer, 1894, who has become one of the most distinguished men native to our four-county strip. He gained scholastic honors at the University of Wisconsin and at the University of Berlin, was for more than a decade professor of sociology and economics at Wisconsin, then a member of the Wisconsin Railroad Commission, and finally a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington, where he continues to serve.

The list from the city of Milwaukee has become burdensome to handle. It contains a grand total of 542 names. Of full-course graduates there are 136, full-course law graduates 73. The junior or part-time law students number 27, other part-time students 157, and those whose course was incomplete in 1900 were just 100. There were also 36 who took pharmacy and 13 who had had a short course in agriculture. Perhaps the most noted career encountered in the Milwaukee list—if we take *Who's Who* as our guide, as we are practically forced to do—is that of Paul Samuel Reinsch, scholar and diplomat, whose death occurred in China in 1923. Doctor Reinsch was a native of Milwaukee and was graduated from the University in 1892. He later took a degree in law, also the degree of doctor of philosophy and that of doctor of laws. He was professor, minister to China, councillor for the Chinese government, and author of numerous works on government and administration.

Salem, Kenosha County, is the birthplace of Guy Stanton Ford, University of Wisconsin 1895, whose career as a scholar ranks him with Doctor Reinsch and

Doctor Meyer. He obtained his Ph. D. degree at Columbia, studied in Berlin, became professor at the University of Illinois, and later dean of the Graduate School in the University of Minnesota, where he now is. Doctor Ford's writings are on modern European history. For Racine County, perhaps the outstanding *Who's Who* career among the University graduates of the decade is that of Halsten Joseph Berford Thorkelson, who was professor of engineering, and business manager of the University of Wisconsin, and since 1921 has been with the General Education Board.

Doubtless there are other careers, in lines less subject to exploitation by the editors of *Who's Who*, which might well be pointed out in connection with the present survey. The purpose, however, is to emphasize the interest in research scholarship, which is the choice fruit of higher education; and also to call attention to the distribution of nationally known scholars native to this area, whose University graduation falls in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The names mentioned are the best justification of all that the pioneers—Yankee, Teuton, and Scandinavian—did and suffered in the cause of education. Not every group of four contiguous counties in the Union has a record of one distinguished scholar to each county.

CHAPTER XIII

POPULATION CHANGES, 1860-1870

THE revelations of the eighth and ninth censuses are of so much value in our study of the social history of the four-county strip, that I venture to include some of them despite the impossibility of making a statistical study interesting to read. The general reader may skip this chapter if he desires, the student may find it especially useful for reference.

The census-taker's report on the towns included in our four-county area is, within limits, our best source of exact information respecting the changes of population that took place between the time when the towns became settled and the date of the last census. One must however recognize the limitations under which that functionary worked. For example, he noted the place of nativity of each person whose name he set down, but he did not in the earlier censuses indicate the racial origin of native American families. Thus, if John Schmitt was American-born, the state of his nativity would be given but not the fact that his father or his mother or both were natives of Bavaria or Prussia.

Now, the first great immigration of Germans to Wisconsin took place in the years between 1840 and 1860. To a large extent the immigrants were young adults either unmarried or but recently married, so that a goodly proportion of their children were born in this country, and those who were natives of German states largely grew up and married here, giving to all their

children the stamp of American nativity. So it comes about that, with some exceptions, the census of 1870 is the last to exhibit a decennial increase in the German element of the towns studied. To illustrate, Cedarburg in Ozaukee County in 1850, out of an aggregate population of 1173, had 341 Germans. Ten years later the same town had 889 Germans in a total of 2235; and in 1870, 997 in a total of 2555. Thereafter the numbers representing the German element decline to 534 in 1885, 402 in 1895, 336 in 1905, and 155 in 1920. The population of the town declined to one-half of its 1870 total, while the German element shrunk to less than one-sixth. This was not due in any appreciable measure to the displacement of Germans by men of other races, but simply to the natural causes, death and birth. Those who died here were in the main the old people who had come from Germany twenty-five, fifty, or seventy-five years earlier; those born here were all American by nativity. Cedarburg is racially quite as German today as it ever has been, and even more so owing to the disappearance of the earlier American and Irish stocks; but the census reveals it as a town whose American element numbers 1115, German 155, and others 13.

The case of Cedarburg is typical of the towns in Ozaukee County, the most characteristically German portion of our area. In all of them the number of persons born in Germany drops off sharply after 1870,¹ which goes to show that there could have been no considerable influx of later German immigrants into that county, and also suggests that the original families persisted as

¹ Belgium is only an apparent exception, the Luxemburgers in 1870 being generally called Germans, as they were not in earlier censuses.

owners of the lands taken by the German pioneer farmers. This inference is strengthened by the insignificant numbers representing, at the census dates, those from "other lands."² In Cedarburg that number exceeded 20 only in 1860. In some of the other towns it was larger, partly on account of the difficulty encountered in classifying the Luxemburgers, though generally the "other lands" column shows a larger aggregate in 1920 than in 1905. It is therefore clear that a few non-Germans have been entering those towns in recent times, but the effect is hardly noticeable as yet.

Turning to Kenosha County we find a somewhat different situation. There it appears the German-born generally increased up to 1885 and in several towns up to 1895. The number of German-born persons in the rural towns of Kenosha County in 1920 was 738, in those of Ozaukee 609. Statistics don't lie, but sometimes they tell less than the whole truth. According to these figures the Yankee county of Kenosha would be more German than the Teutonic county in the north. But when we note the periods of most rapid influx of Germans into Kenosha County as contrasted with Ozaukee, the riddle is solved. In the one case the original immigrants, not a very large proportion of the whole population, still largely survived; in the other the original stock was mostly gone, American-born descendants having taken their places.³

As pointed out in a previous chapter, the Irish

² See tables, p. 310-316.

³ The count of new landowners made by Stella Karcher for the town of Randall shows the Germans filtering in during successive decades. The 1870 list presents 20 German names; that for 1880, 18; for 1890, 25. In 1900 the list of new landowners included 58 Germans; in 1910, 78; and in 1920, 93. Among them were many who were born in Germany.

pioneers showed a disposition to flee before the oncoming Teutonic host in neighborhoods where the latter were in a clear majority. All the towns of Ozaukee County had in 1850 appreciable numbers of the Irish-born. The aggregate for the seven towns was 800. Seventy years later the aggregate was 8, just 1 per cent of the original Irish population of the county. The decline began early. Four of the towns had fewer Irish already in 1860 than in 1850; all had fewer in 1870 than in 1860, and there were 467 in the county at that date as against 800 in 1850. After that they simply faded out, partly, of course, through displacement by American-born children, but largely as a result of emigration to cities or to other states. A similar result is seen in the agricultural towns of Milwaukee County, while by contrast, Wauwatosa, where a city grew up, largely multiplied her Irish population in the fifteen years 1870 to 1885. Racine County's rural towns according to the census of 1920 had but 16 persons of Irish birth. In 1850 there were 561, in 1870 the number was 596. At the latter date the county as a whole had an Irish contingent of 1039, showing that a large proportion of them were residents of the city of Racine. The aggregate of Germans for the county was 3859, for the rural towns 2683—a slightly different distribution from that of the Irish, yet not markedly so.

The relation between farming Irishmen and those in other occupations at the census date 1870 is well illustrated by a hand count of those residing in the town of Mount Pleasant, portions of which were really suburbs of the city of Racine. The aggregate of Irish-born in that town was 149. Only 16 are described as farmers, while 59 were housekeepers, these being of course women. There were 13 farm laborers, 14 day

laborers, 4 railway workers, and 5 seamen. Among the rest, distributed by ones and twos among the usual crafts, were 8 of no occupation. Only 3 children were born in Ireland. The analysis proves that the bulk of the Irish, while living within the boundaries of the rural town, were in reality attached to the activities of the city.

Out of an aggregate of 509 Germans in Mount Pleasant, old and young, there were 46 farmers, 33 farm laborers, and 67 day laborers. Children born in Germany numbered 96, as against the 3 children of Irish birth. Housekeepers numbered 173, domestics 7. Of carpenters and coopers there were 7 each, also 5 teamsters, 4 lumber yard workers, and 3 each of tailors, seamen, tanners, shoemakers, and painters. There was one miller, and one professor in a college.

It will be seen that the proportion of farmers is practically the same in the two cases, also that of farm laborers, while the Germans exceed their proportion in common laborers and the Irish in those of no occupation—which means, generally, aged persons living with children or by themselves. But the most striking disparity is in the relative numbers of children born abroad. It proves that there was a continuing influx of Germans coming direct or nearly direct from the fatherland and penetrating the rural society of the one-time purely English-speaking southeastern counties. In 1850 the town of Mount Pleasant, which was well settled mainly by Yankees, had only 26 Germans in its population and 25 Irish. Ten years later the Irish numbered 93, the Germans 180. In the next decade the Germans increased nearly 300 per cent, the Irish decidedly less than 100 per cent. Thereafter both elements declined, but the Irish reached the vanishing

point before 1900, while persons of German nativity were still present, to an appreciable number, at the date of the last census.⁴

A comparison of the two groups for twenty years in Yorkville, Racine County, a purely agricultural town, gives the following results: In 1850 there were in the town 48 Irish-born and 67 German-born. The numbers in 1860 were 49 and 75 respectively, and in 1870, 40 and 92. But the census-taker in the latter year found but 6 Irish farmers and 2 farm laborers, as against 23 German farmers and 13 farm laborers. If no new Germans entered the town after 1870, the gradual decline from 92 to 80 by 1885, to 53 by 1895, to 31 by 1905, and 26 by 1920, represents the natural decimation of the original stock by death in the course of half a century. But the violent fluctuations in the Irish population—from 40 to 17, then to 7, then 4, and finally 1—must by contrast signify the disappearance of these people partly at least through the process of emigration. Thus, while the German stock was replenishing itself and doubtless augmenting largely through births in this American area, the Irish element was apparently becoming relatively less prominent decade by decade.

It is noteworthy, that the German families settled in 1870 in the farming town of Yorkville had only 3 children who were born abroad. The fact suggests that these German farmers were generally persons of rather extended American experience, perhaps sons of German farmers who had been living for a number of years in other areas, like Milwaukee County, perhaps young men whose parents had lived—possibly still lived—in cities like Racine and Milwaukee. Doubtless nearly all could be accounted for by tracing in detail the story of

⁴ 114.

the original German families of the neighborhood—the term “original families” meaning those who were able at an early date to procure land from Yankees ready to move on, or who by taking cheap swamp land and draining it succeeded in establishing themselves as farmers.

It is interesting to determine, for given periods, whether or not immigration from abroad was taking place and to what extent. The year 1870 being a somewhat crucial date, particularly for the southern counties, where wheat-raising was by that time sharply on the decline, one would expect a marked change to occur in the population about that time. In part that change, so far as it represents the intrusion of foreign stocks, can be studied statistically from the census schedules. We cannot obtain a complete list of all immigrants. But, in the case of families, the age of the last child born abroad will fix the date before which they could not have come to America or Wisconsin. Hence, by noting all families having children born abroad who are not more than ten years old, we shall obtain the list of such families entering the town within ten years—that is, between 1860 and 1870.

Such a study for Racine County shows that a grand total of 222 families of the sort was added to the population in that decade. A very large number, 42 families, were in Mount Pleasant, and there the main body of immigrants was attached to the city of Racine, although living within the boundaries of Mount Pleasant Town. This is clear from the fact that only 7 were farmers and 7 farm laborers, while 16 were day laborers and 10 mechanics. Denmark was the native country of 11, Germany of 17, Norway of 5, Bohemia 6, Scotland 2, and Wales 1. Similarly mixed, but of course much smaller, lists pertain to the western towns having vil-

lages—Rochester, Waterford, and Burlington. The last-named had a total of 18, only 2 of whom were farmers; Waterford had 18, with 2 farmers and 8 farm laborers. Rochester had 3, of whom 1 was a farmer, 1 a farm laborer, and 1 without occupation. The other towns were agricultural, and a different result was to be expected. Norway had received 23 families. Six persons were described as farmers, 11 as farm laborers, 2 as laborers, and 4 as without occupation. All but three were from the Scandinavian countries. Dover out of 10 immigrant families had 3 farmers, 6 farm laborers, and 1 housekeeper. Three of the farm laborers were from Norway and none of these had any property. One farmer was Scotch. He was worth \$11,800. An English housekeeper was worth \$7500. None of the others had any property listed. Raymond shows the presence of 28 new Danish families. Seventeen of the heads were farmers, with valuations ranging from \$800 to \$6000, 10 were farm laborers, most of them having some property, and 1 wagon maker. Among 8 German family heads, 2 had farms, valued at \$1500 and \$4800 respectively, 3 were day laborers, 2 farm laborers, and 1 a domestic. There were also an English carpenter and an Austrian shoemaker. In Yorkville, the 5 Danish family heads were farmers, their valuations ranging from \$700 to \$3000. Other nationalities had 1 each, save England, which had 4.

From this survey it would appear that in one county at least Danish settlers were more likely to become farm owners soon after arriving in the country than were immigrants from other lands. Inasmuch as the period of their residence in America averaged no longer than that of the Germans, Bohemians, and other foreigners, it seems to follow that the immigrants from Denmark

were people of more substance than the others—probably farm owners in the old country.

It is noteworthy that Irish immigrants were numerically negligible at this period in Racine County, even Mount Pleasant, adjoining the city of Racine, having received not a single family with children from the Emerald Isle. In fact, only 3 such families were caught by the census-taker in the county, those of a farm laborer in Waterford, a railroad worker in Yorkville, and a farmer in Yorkville, the last having property amounting to \$1500. In contrast with the earlier period, there were practically no Welsh immigrants either, 3 being the total for the county, as in the case of Irishmen. Scotland also had 3, as it happened, 2 laborers, and 1 farmer with a high valuation, \$11,800. England showed a larger influence, having to her credit 14 of the 222 families. A large proportion of these were mechanics or craftsmen.

The significant numbers were derived from Denmark, as already noted, her total for the county being 51 families; Bohemia, which furnished 48; Germany with an aggregate of 66 or, counting 1 Austrian, 67. From Norway came 22. A striking fact about the Norwegian settlers in Racine County during the decade is the contrast of economic status between them and their neighbors from Denmark. The Norwegians gave us 11 farm laborers and 5 day laborers, none of whom had any property; 3 craftsmen (1 shoemaker and 2 carpenters), who had from \$300 to \$1100; and only 3 farmers, one with no property, the others with property valued at \$800 and \$6700 respectively. Of the 51 Danish families, only 9 were propertyless; 29 were farmers rated variously from \$700 to \$6000; 4 were farmers with no property; 4 laborers had property amounting to \$500

or more; 3 farm laborers only were propertyless out of 11 in that class; the one teamster had \$600, the wagon maker \$1300.

The Germans appear to have had little advantage over the Norwegians in worldly goods. Out of 12 German families in Burlington, only 1, that of a tailor, had any property, his rating being \$100. In Waterford 3 out of 11 German families had property, 2 of these being laborers, 1 a hotel keeper. Of 4 German families in Norway, 1, a farmer, had \$2400; and of 17 such families in Mount Pleasant, 2 farmers, 1 farm laborer, 6 laborers, and 3 mechanics had various small amounts of property. The best record for Germans is in Caledonia, where 5 farmers had from \$925 to \$3600 each, 2 blacksmiths \$1270 and \$1600 respectively, and 1 laborer \$600. Only 4 farmers and 1 laborer were propertyless.

Caledonia had the bulk of the Bohemian immigrants. Most of them were farmers, but it would seem that their status in the Old World had been less favorable than that of the Danish farmers. For, among the 30 Bohemian families described as farmers, only 14 were given a property rating—\$200 to \$4600. Three farm laborers and 4 laborers, in addition to 16 farmers, were without property. One laborer had \$500. Of six Bohemians in Mount Pleasant, 4—all mechanics—had from \$200 to \$800, and 1 with no occupation had \$1000. Two craftsmen in Burlington were propertyless.

The investigation just described makes it clear that foreign-born settlers did not distribute themselves evenly over Racine County in the decade 1860-70, but "bunched" in a few localities or towns. Moreover, the massing was by nationalities. For example, the Bohemians collected largely in Caledonia, the Danes in Ray-

mond, and the Germans in Mount Pleasant. The latter town, however, as already pointed out, was abnormal because of being practically connected with the city of Racine. The two previous cases are doubtless typical; and it is significant that in each the new settlers were racially identified with what was an existing dominant, or at least important, group. Caledonia in 1860 had 350 Bohemians in an aggregate of 1137 foreign-born; in 1870 it had 446 out of 1290 foreign-born residents. Only the German among foreign elements was larger than the Bohemian, and the Germans increased during the decade less than the Bohemians. In Raymond the Scandinavian element (which there meant Danish) stood at 135 in 1860; in 1870 it numbered 352. The Danish was the largest foreign element at the beginning of the decade, and its increase was several hundred per cent greater than the German, which stood and continued second in importance. Mount Pleasant, though strongly influenced by the city, nevertheless illustrates the same principle. For there the German was the strongest foreign group in 1860, and it was likewise the one which grew most rapidly during the ten-year period. Norway was prevailingly Scandinavian in 1860; it continued so, attracting not Scandinavians in general, but almost exclusively Norwegians, like those who constituted the original settlement.

Looking upon a community as if it were an individual, we have in these revelations another illustration of the familiar biblical aphorism: "To him that hath shall be given." Where many Germans, Bohemians, Danes, or Norwegians are, thither will Germans, Bohemians, Danes, and Norwegians gravitate—provided people of these races are on the move, and the places occupied by brethren of the same races afford opportuni-

ties in any sense equivalent to those which could be enjoyed elsewhere. In short, this study seems to prove that there is a definite social "pull" which must be set off against economic advantages sometimes assumed to be the sole or main cause of migration and settlement in a new land.

Is the obverse of the principle quoted above also true community-wise: "From him that hath not shall be taken away even that he hath"? Some facts appear to point to its truth. For example, the native American contingent, other than the Wisconsin-born, dropped off seriously between 1860 and 1870 in the towns of Raymond, Dover, Caledonia, and Yorkville, Racine County. During the decade in question Raymond received immigrants from other states to the number of 5 families who had children born elsewhere in the United States. Two were farmers, the one from Massachusetts by way of Illinois, the other apparently direct from New York. Each had property valued at about \$5000. Two were farm laborers, one from Pennsylvania, the other from New York, and the fifth was a blacksmith from New York. In Yorkville the native population had been augmented through a single family from New York, that of a farmer rated at \$5000. Dover had received one farmer, worth \$6050, who was born in Massachusetts but came from Minnesota; while Caledonia had added a wealthy New York farmer (\$13,000), and a farmer from Ohio rated at \$300. This accounts for all towns in Racine County whose native population born outside of Wisconsin was decreasing, except Waterford and Norway, which had received in ten years no immigrant American families.

Burlington shows during the decade a general increase of Americans born in other states than Wiscon-

sin. It likewise received a rather generous addition, 8 families. They were headed by a woman from New York, who entered the state by way of Indiana, a laborer from New York, a farmer from New Hampshire (rated at \$8300), a wagon manufacturer from Vermont via Ohio, a saloon keeper from Vermont, a dentist from New York, an artist from Vermont via Illinois, and a railway station agent from Massachusetts. In Mount Pleasant, too, where this American element was growing, we encounter a noticeable addition of families belonging to the class here considered. Of these there were 10, 5 of them prominent farmers in 1870, with property ratings of \$3700, \$4300, \$7700, \$15,000, and \$30,000 respectively. There were 2 other farmers with small properties, 1 farm laborer (Kentuckian), a seaman from Connecticut via New York, and a college professor from New York. The two largest farmers were one from Vermont, the other from New Hampshire via Indiana.

We have left the peculiar case of Rochester. In that town the American element in question was relatively small in 1860—only 190—and it increased very slightly, amounting in 1870 to 208. The intruding new families, however, amounted only to 3—one from New York via Michigan, another from New York via Maine, and the third (principal of the Rochester Institute) from Ohio via Illinois.

The towns of Kenosha County received during the decade 66 such foreign-born families as we have been considering. That is almost exactly one-fourth as many as had entered the Racine County towns in the same period. In Kenosha there were no towns such as Mount Pleasant, Caledonia, and Raymond, the immigration to which together totaled 135 families, one of

them—Caledonia—receiving 57 of these. The largest number any Kenosha town had added in ten years was 11, Somers, Salem, and Wheatland each having that record, while Brighton had a record of 9. The others showed smaller returns, 8 for Pleasant Prairie, 7 for Paris, 6 for Bristol, and 3 for Randall.

As to the racial derivation of the new families, Germany was far in the lead, having 7 of those in Somers, all of the 11 in Wheatland, 1 out of 7 in Paris, 8 of the 9 in Brighton, all 3 of the Randall additions, all 6 of the Bristol newcomers, 6 of the 8 in Pleasant Prairie, and 5 of the 11 in Salem. The total of German families was therefore 47, leaving only 19 to be accounted for from other sources. Of these, Paris had 6, 3 each of Welsh and English origin; Somers had 4 English, Brighton 1, Pleasant Prairie 1, and Salem 2. There were also 3 Danish families, 1 in Pleasant Prairie and 2 in Salem; and 2 Irish families in Salem.

According to the principle of the attractive force of established social groups, the town of Wheatland, where was the largest number of Germans in 1860, ought to have drawn the largest proportion of its new families from that class of immigrants. We find our principle justified, for Wheatland attracted 11 families, all German. Brighton had the second largest number of Germans in 1860; and Brighton drew to herself during the following decade 8 German families and 1 English. Randall, likewise, had a preponderance of Germans, and her additions were all German. Somers had more Germans than English, and drew 7 of the one and 4 of the other.

But at this point our test seems to fail; for the town of Paris, where was the third largest German element in 1860, added but a single German family, while ad-

mitting 3 Welsh families and 3 English. Salem, according to this test, should have received a majority of English families, instead of which her addition consisted of 5 German, 2 Irish, 2 English, and 2 Danish families. Bristol had a preponderance of Irish foreign-born in 1860, but by 1870 her German element, which was growing, nearly equaled the Irish, which was on the decline, and all of the families added during the decade were German.⁵ There remains the case of Pleasant Prairie, where both English and Irish foreign-born exceeded the German in numbers at the beginning of the decade. The latter was increasing, while the two former were on the decline, and the additions consisted of 6 German families, 1 English, and 1 Danish.

Occupationally, 16 of the new German heads of families were farmers of substantial properties. Eight others were described as farmers but were given no financial rating. I presume this means that they were renters. Fourteen are called farm laborers, 2 laborers, and 1 a blacksmith. The last was a propertied man. There were also 1 plasterer, 1 shoemaker, and 1 person who had just arrived and was not yet engaged in any regular employment. Three of the Englishmen were farmers with a rating, one having property valued at \$9999. Two were farmers without property, 1 a farm laborer, 1 a fish peddler, and there were also a carpenter, a blacksmith, and a shoemaker. One Irishman was a capitalist (no occupation), the other a laborer. The three Danes were all farm laborers.

Turning to the American side of this type of family immigration, we find it was strong during the decade in the towns bordering the lake. The town of Pleasant Prairie had welcomed 18 such, 14 of the heads being na-

⁵ We include as German one family from Holland.

tives of New York,⁶ though 3 of them had lived in Illinois, 2 in Michigan, and 1 in Ohio. Two of the others were from Maine via Illinois and Ohio respectively, a third was from Pennsylvania via Iowa, and the fourth from Kentucky via Illinois. Just one-half of the 18 families were without property, or nearly so. The others had from \$1560 to \$39,000. One owner of a farm and cheese factory was rated at \$10,000.

Occupationally, farm owners numbered 9, farm laborers 2. There were 2 other laborers, 2 carpenters, a time keeper in a wagon factory, a doctor, and a minister. The doctor had a rating of \$8500, the minister none at all.

Like Pleasant Prairie, Somers, the other lake-shore town, showed a marked infiltration of American-born families, the number being 11. Seven of the heads were born in New York, though 4 of the 7 had lived in other states. The others were from Connecticut via Michigan, Pennsylvania via Illinois, the Atlantic Ocean via Illinois, and Wales via New York.⁷ Only 3 of the 11 were farmers with property; 2 others are classed as farmers and 1 as a farm laborer. There were 2 merchants, 1 cheese maker, rated at \$3400, a steamboat clerk, and a lumber yard clerk.

West of the lake-shore towns were very few newly arrived American settlers save in Salem, which had received 7. Five of these are classed as farmers, though the low rating of 3 indicates they were probably renters. There were besides these 1 farm laborer and 1 painter. Four of the 7 were natives of New York, 1 of Illinois, 1

⁶ If we count as such one Irishman who had lived at least sixteen years in New York.

⁷ The head of the family was born in Wales, but his children, the oldest of whom was twenty and the youngest seven, were born in New York. The family is therefore listed as from that state.

of Michigan, and 1 of Pennsylvania. Randall had 3 such American families, 1 hailing from New Jersey via Illinois, 1 from New York by the same route, and a third direct from the Empire State. All were farmers, 2 with properties exceeding \$5000 in value. Paris had received a single family, a farmer from Iowa who was a native of Vermont. Neither Wheatland nor Brighton had a single new American family in the ten years, so far as our canvass of families with children born out of Wisconsin reveals.

We have left the town of Bristol, adjoining Pleasant Prairie on the west. That town had received 18 families, half of the heads being natives of New York, 2 of Connecticut, 1 of Massachusetts, 2 of Ohio, and 1 of Illinois. There were in addition a Georgian and 2 who might have been classed as English-speaking foreigners, though a large part of their lives had been spent in New York and Illinois respectively, where their families were partly reared. Eight of the 18 were farmers of considerable substance, 1 a farm laborer, 2 merchants, 2 blacksmiths, and 1 wagon maker, a carpenter, a school teacher, and a housekeeper. The highest rating among them was \$11,000, that of one of the farmers.

When we inquire into the cause of the influx of American farm families at just this time, one explanation, which applies to Kenosha County particularly, is the transition during the later 1860's from wheat farming to cheese and butter dairying. The change had gone furthest in Pleasant Prairie, but the towns of Somers, Bristol, and Salem had likewise been considerably affected by it. In Pleasant Prairie cheese dairying in 1867 was carried on by twenty-one farmers who had an aggregate of 840 cows. Some of the herds num-

bered as high as 100.⁸ That shift in the agricultural organization attracted dairy farmers, especially from New York State, who bought the holdings of wheat farmers bent on going to Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, or Nebraska.⁹

A probable explanation of the very large influx of Bohemian farmers into Caledonia, Racine County, is found in the heavy emigration of acclimatized Bohemian families from that town to the West, especially Nebraska, where excellent prairie lands could be had near the Union Pacific Railway practically at government prices.¹⁰ The emigrants would tend to be replaced by immigrants of the same stock. It may well be, also, that the older Danish families of Raymond were removing to some extent into Minnesota, thus making room for the new farm families noted as entering that town from Denmark in this decade. However, the number of farms in Raymond had increased during the decade from 175 to 246, which may of itself explain the result. In the other towns noted the numbers actually decreased.

The abnormality of Milwaukee County, due to the urban development influencing rural life there, makes a study of that area from our present viewpoint comparatively fruitless. Ozaukee, however, furnishes results of real value. In these the first point to challenge attention is that the seven towns of that county received during the decade foreign-born families to the aggregate number of 133, which was twice as many as entered

⁸ *Racine Advocate*, June 27, 1868.

⁹ On the subject of dairy development in the state, see the author's *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, especially p. 151 and 152 for Kenosha beginnings.

¹⁰ See Ferdinand F. Doubrava, "Experiences of a Bohemian Emigrant Family," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, viii, 393-406.

the county of Kenosha in the same period and 60 per cent of the number which entered Racine County notwithstanding its three exceptional towns—Caledonia, Mount Pleasant, and Raymond. Of Ozaukee's new families the majority of the heads were farmers or farm laborers. However, 35 were engaged in occupations which show they were connected with the villages. Cedarburg out of 33 families had 14 which obviously made their livings in the village as laborers and craftsmen, and 19 who were farmers and farm laborers; Mequon had 2 out of 27, Port Washington had 7 villagers out of 12 additions; Saukville 5 out of 13; Grafton 6 out of 21; Fredonia 1 out of 7, and Belgium 1 out of 10. From this it is obvious, first, that the county was still attractive to foreigners for its agricultural opportunities and, second, either that these opportunities were so uniformly distributed as to render the selection of a distinct locality in the county a matter of comparative indifference, or else that the combined economic and social attractions (taking into account the immigrating groups influenced thereby) exerted about the same force everywhere.

This conclusion is strengthened when we consider separately those who became owners of valuable farms and those who were farm laborers or renters (i.e. farmers rated at about \$100). The first of the two types would be the permanent accessions to the rural communities concerned. Hence, when we find that Cedarburg, Belgium, and Grafton each received 8 of these, Mequon and Saukville 6, Fredonia 5, and Port Washington 4, the figures are impressive for the reason suggested.

There were only a few renters, not more than four or five all told. The farm laborers, on the other hand, were a considerable group of these family immigrants,

numbering for the entire county 29. Most of them had some property, one as high as \$1200, which suggests they were saving for the purpose of buying farms. The typical farm laborer was from thirty to thirty-five years of age, though a certain proportion were over forty and a few as old as fifty years.

All of the families settled in Belgium, the community which had most of the original Luxemburgers, were Luxemburgers. Others of the same derivation had gone to Fredonia and Port Washington, where also Luxemburgers had settled. Prussians, Bavarians, a Darmstadter, and a Saxon family made up all but one of the Saukville contingent; Fredonia had Prussians and a Saxon aside from Luxemburgers; Grafton, Mequon, and Cedarburg nearly all Prussians, with scattering Saxons, Mecklenburgers, a Hanoverian, an Austrian, and a Canadian. The last named was one of three non-Germans in the Ozaukee County list of recent immigrants, the others being a Norwegian sailor and a Canadian farmer. The county ran true to type; as an almost exclusively German community it attracted from among foreign immigrating groups virtually only Germans. Did it attract Americans also? Yes, there was one in Cedarburg, a farmer named Timothy Dutcher, who was a native of New York and had a daughter Esther, aged seven, born in Michigan. So far as could be found, in a rapid examination of the census sheets, he was the only American intruder into this German county during the ten-year period under review.

A query is suggested by the peculiar distribution of farm laborers in Ozaukee County. Our survey shows the presence of 12 families of that class in Mequon, 9 in Cedarburg, and 6 in Grafton. Saukville had only 1,

and Port Washington 1. Fredonia and Belgium had none. In terms of geography, that means the south half of the county was employing all but 2 of the county's contingent of 29. The explanation is to be sought in the character of the farms, especially their size and productiveness.

In the first point the difference is not material. The southern towns had, indeed, a slightly greater proportion of large-size farms, from 100 to 174 acres, but the actual number of such farms was at least as great in the northern towns as in the southern. When it comes to production value, however, the differential is marked in the south's favor. For example, Cedarburg had only 1 farm producing under \$200, Grafton 1, and Mequon 7, the three towns together in 1870 counting 883 farms. By contrast the four northern towns had 174 such low production records out of 940 farms. In the next class, producing from \$200 to \$399, the north also led by a wide margin, 395 farms falling in that class while the three southern towns are represented by 260. When we pass to the class of better farm incomes, \$400 to \$599 and \$600 to \$999, the case is reversed. In the first of these two classes the three southern towns had 294 farms, the four northern ones 247; in the second, 260 and 178 respectively. This proves that the northern part of the county was still, in 1870, only partly developed agriculturally as contrasted with the south; and we see from this also that farm labor seeks the region of agricultural prosperity, where the farm incomes are such as to justify the employment of labor additional to that furnished by the family.

Herein we have one economic explanation of the phenomenon noted in Racine and Kenosha counties, where foreign-born families intruded into communities

almost wholly Yankee in origin, or foreigners of one linguistic and racial stock mingled with established families representing other traditions. The foreign-born families which brought money, like those Danes who had sold farms at home before emigrating—due probably to the disturbing results of the war of 1864 with Prussia—could settle where they pleased, and they preferred to buy farms in neighborhoods firmly held by their fellow countrymen. But the Danish, or Norwegian, or German farm hand had to go where he could find work, which more often than not was on the farms of Yankees, Englishmen, or Irishmen. Once established with an English-speaking family, such farm laborers learned the language, adopted the manners and points of view—including the politics—of their employers, and in a few years' time might be settled among them on farms of their own. The foreign-born farm hand or renter, in a word, was a dynamic element calculated to help largely in reshaping the life of many local communities.¹¹

In the ten-year period 1895 to 1905, which is at the

¹¹ This has been true down to the present time. "The incoming tenants," says a local writer of Kenosha County, speaking of the changes which occurred between 1890 and 1920, "were almost without exception Germans. . . . Some of these Germans had come from the Fatherland a few years previously and worked in Milwaukee or Chicago for a time. They became first, farm laborers, then tenants, and now comprise the majority of landowners." Olive M. Hope. Report (MS) on local history of Salem. A Kenosha County writer of 1889 says practically the same thing: "First they worked out, then they rented farms, and then they bought farms mostly of Americans who went farther west. . . . We can be sure that the second generation of the Germans, anyway the Protestants, will be assimilated to Americans in language, institutions and customs and by intermarriages [so] that the difference of [between] a Yankee and a German boy cannot be seen." George Kroncke von Ahn. MS in Roeseler Collection, Wisconsin Historical Library.

distance of a full generation from the epoch just considered, important changes occurred in the two types of immigration, from foreign lands and from other American states. In Ozaukee County two towns, Grafton and Saukville, had no additions of families which could be identified as having arrived within ten years. Belgium and Mequon each had 1, Port Washington and Fredonia 2. Cedarburg, the remaining town of that county, had 8, all German; 6 of these owned farms, 1 rented a farm, and 1 rented a house. Practically, it may be said, there was no important change taking place in Ozaukee's rural population from immigration sources.

Two of Racine County's towns were also without additions, Burlington and Dover. Raymond, Watford, and Norway had but 1 each, Rochester and Yorkville 2. Thus seven of the nine towns had remained static in this respect. Caledonia had received 13 additions, 2 of which were American families, those of a minister and a contractor. Of the other 11, 2—a German and a Bohemian—owned farms, a Dutchman and 4 Danes rented farms, 3 Bohemians rented houses, and 1 German owned his house. Mount Pleasant also had 2 American additions, one of whom owned a farm, the other renting a house. There were besides 7 Germans, 9 Danes, and 1 Norwegian. Only 1 German and 1 Dane owned farms.

Kenosha County shows rather more immigration than the other two. Wheatland had none; all other towns save Paris had more than one family. Somers had 15, Salem 17, Pleasant Prairie 13, Bristol 9, Brighton and Randall each 5. But in Pleasant Prairie was no farmer among the 8 foreign families and the 5 American; in Somers 2 owned farms and 3 rented

farms; in Salem none were farm owners, but 6 were renters; in Bristol 1 Dutchman out of 4 foreigners and 1 American out of 5 owned farms; in Randall were 2 farm owners, a German and a Dane; in Brighton none.

The conclusion which must be deduced from the above summary is that agricultural conditions in all three counties had attained by the end of last century a large measure of stability. New farms were not being created at that time. In fact, for twenty-five years consolidations had been taking place which materially reduced the number of farms in most of the towns concerned. In Ozaukee County there were in 1905 but 83 per cent of the number in 1880, showing a decrease of 17 per cent. Of the purchasers of farms sold in Fredonia between 1880 and 1910, a large proportion were "neighbors" and some are described as owning "land adjoining." The aggregate number of buyers was 7 per cent less than the number of sellers, which also reveals the process of farm enlargement. A similar tendency is noticed in the other towns of that county.¹² Kenosha had a 10 per cent reduction in total number of farms, while Racine had lost only 3 per cent. Here is another contrast between the wooded and open counties. The pioneer farms of Ozaukee County were not of economical size for dairying, many consisting of only forty acres. When that industry came in, the tendency to increase the acreage became marked, just as forty years earlier the same tendency was pronounced in the agricultural sections of western New York and Vermont.¹³ In the southern counties, where a comparatively large-scale cultivation had been in vogue from the beginning in open-land wheat culture, the farms

¹² Reports of teachers on the local history of the towns.

¹³ See Schafer, *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, 61-63.

were in most cases large enough also for the livestock economy which followed; and, in fact, for a time the process was one of reducing farm areas. The necessary readjustments had been practically made between the years 1870 and 1890, so that the evidence of permanence in farms which is revealed in the canvass of immigrants in the ten years 1895 to 1905 should occasion no surprise. Most transfers were due to the death or retirement of former owners. A few farmers were selling out to go to the city for work or business. The purchasers were prevailing local people—"neighbors" or "sons of neighbors"—though a few foreigners also were among them, doubtless such as had been renters for some years.

Some light on the subject of renters is to be derived from the 1905 state census. It shows, as one would expect, a heavier proportion of owners among the farm operators of Ozaukee County than among those in the two southern counties. According to our count, only 153 farms out of the 1599 in Ozaukee County, or less than 10 per cent, were in renters' hands, and 63 of those were in the town of Mequon. Port Washington had 21, Grafton 19, and Cedarburg 18. The other three towns had 7, 11, and 14 respectively. In Racine the per cent was 22.5; in Kenosha, 26.8.

There would seem to be no definite correlation between rented farms and recent immigrants. In Kenosha County, Wheatland had two farms rented and no recently arrived families were credited to that town. Somers, Randall, Pleasant Prairie, Paris, and Bristol each had a high proportion of rented farms. In all of these save Paris several families had moved in during the preceding decade and some of these, as already pointed out, have been identified as renters of farms.

But the newly arrived renters fail to account for the ascertained proportion of rented farms, many of which probably were in the hands of sons of retired farmers.

The case of Ozaukee County, where the number of rented farms in 1905 amounted to 153, while the aggregate number of intruding families was only 14, serves to demonstrate that it was not the new families who constituted the principal body of renters.

CHAPTER XIV

RECENT IMMIGRATION

A COMPARISON of the population tables for the two last censuses therein summarized—1905 and 1920—reveals certain facts of great significance in the recent social history of our area. The first is the presence of new types of foreign population, types which contrast the recent arrivals with the German, Irish, British, and Scandinavian immigrations of the earlier period. The column in our town population tables (Appendix) headed “other lands” supplies the index to this change. It shows that in the county of Ozaukee, for example, every town but one had a slightly larger representation under that rubric in 1920 than in 1905. In Kenosha County all towns showed not only larger totals but a surprisingly larger aggregate of such unclassified immigrants. Two of the nine towns in Racine County had smaller totals, the other seven had larger; while two of the towns, Mount Pleasant and Caledonia, showed very large numbers from other lands.

As regards the derivation of the new groups, a special school census executed recently at the instance of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin through the agency of the county superintendents, teachers, pupils, and parents enables us to speak with some confidence.¹

¹ Blanks were printed by the Society after consultation with the Superintendent of Public Instruction. These were then distributed to the teachers by their county superintendents. Teachers, pupils, and parents cooperated in preparing the reports. Some teachers went to the trouble of mimeographing special directions to

From Racine County returns representing 60 per cent of all the schools are in hand, and it would be possible from these to show the situation socially for each of the towns as influenced by recent immigration. This census also enables one to determine the present facts about intermarriages between Americans and foreigners and among the foreign groups.

For the purposes of this concise review only a portion of these returns have been canvassed, because it quickly became evident that a sharp distinction can be drawn between those rural towns which lie along the lake shore and those which occupy the hinterland. As regards the first, it is clear from a casual inspection of the reports that they contain today not merely more foreigners in proportion to total population than the towns remote from the water front, but also that among their foreign elements they have the bulk of all the new foreign groups in the county. For example, the town of Mount Pleasant supplied reports from fourteen schools representing 310 families. A clear majority of the heads of these families—to be exact, 162 out of 310—were of foreign birth and in 58 cases they belonged to the new groups of foreigners, like Russians, Lithuanians, Poles, Italians, instead of to the familiar German, Scandinavian, Irish, or Welsh.

But it will be instructive to examine the Mount Pleasant returns more in detail, since the analysis indicates that the great majority of the new foreigners are domiciled in a single one of the fourteen school districts—the district of Lakeside. In that area, out of 58 families 44 have foreign-born heads, and of those 41 are

parents for giving the information desired. The Society is under obligations to all who contributed to the result.

of the new immigration; namely, 23 Hungarians, 15 Italians, 2 Poles, and 1 Greek.

Now it transpires that the Lakeside school district cares for the children in a suburb of Racine—practically a part of the city itself, though not formally included within the corporate limits. The people living there who patronize the school are not farmers at all. They are mainly laborers, some skilled, some common, and they work for the most part in an iron foundry. Their cultivation of the soil is confined to the limits of kitchen gardens, which most of them are able to maintain on the ample house lots of this suburb. It is clear, however, that we have in this case no rural life problem, but merely an illustration of the social complexities of our industrial centers.²

In Pleasant Prairie and Somers combined, towns which occupy the lake front in Kenosha County, eighteen rural schools reporting represent an aggregate of 106 foreign-born heads out of a total of 238 such heads in sixty-seven schools of that county. In other words, 44 per cent of all the foreign heads of families represented in 82 per cent of Kenosha County's rural schools are domiciled in these two lake towns. Some of the other six towns have populations which are predominantly of foreign stock, but not of foreign birth. The recent arrivals from abroad are to some extent massed at the lake front, even when we consider only the area outside the cities. It is not surprising, therefore, that two-thirds of all the new foreigners—Russians, Poles, Italians, Hungarians, etc.—are to be found in those two towns.

Like those in Lakeside, most of the Kenosha out-

² Information supplied by Dwight McI. Warner, principal of the Lakeside School.

landers are engaged in city work rather than in work on the farms. However, some are laborers on the truck farms, where onions, beets, and cabbages are the principal crops; a few are renters of trucking land which they work on their own account, and occasionally one becomes the owner of such land.³

The town of Caledonia in Racine County has an exceptionally large proportion of foreign-born, for reasons similar to those just given. But when we analyze the returns from the more normally agricultural towns, like Raymond or Norway, we find that the old social patterns of 1860 and 1870 are pretty nearly reproduced in the results. For example, of 49 family heads in four school districts of Raymond, 33 were native-born and the rest with one exception were of the familiar foreign stocks—German, Scandinavian, and Bohemian. That town is prevailingly Danish in origin, as the descent line of the native heads of families will show, just as the town of Norway is Norwegian in origin. In both towns the price of farm lands and the devotion to farm labor of the existing families have restricted the intrusion of newcomers, even those of their own stock, while practically none but easily assimilable foreigners have entered their communities.

The most common foreign additions in both the southern counties are the Germans, of whom every one of the towns has received a few. As in the earlier time, they come for the purpose of farming, and if it is necessary, begin by renting or even working as farm hands until a purchase of farm lands becomes practicable. Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians pursue a similar

³ Information supplied by M. Oveda Crane, teacher in the Lamb School.

course. No Irish, practically, are coming to the rural towns now.

In Ozaukee County strictly rural school reports representing all seven towns to the number of 175 families revealed the presence of 162 native-born and 13 foreign-born heads. Ten of the latter were German, one was a Dutchman (who would be considered about the same), one a Pole, and one a Russian. These facts emphasize what has been said about the process of Americanization of this once foreign community in contrast with the "foreignization" of the once purely American counties to the south. They also show that the new classes of immigrants, which have been attracted in large numbers to the industrial centers of our state, have thus far failed to make any impression upon the social character of this prevailingly agricultural county.

Correspondents in several of the towns of these counties refer to the new types of foreigners whom we have just discussed. They have evidently been impressed by the fact of their presence in the cities and factory towns. No doubt a slight shift in either agricultural or labor conditions may at any time bring them trooping to the farms, thus modifying the social life of the rural communities in a way to make them correspond more closely to the urban social complex, as is already the case in most of Milwaukee County and along the lake front to the south. But up to the present time it does not appear that rural society outside of those areas is very much more complicated than it was forty years ago.

Life indeed has become more intense for other reasons: good roads and the ubiquitous auto alone would produce a virtual revolution in the social life of rural

people. When we add the fact, testified to by local writers in these counties, that the movement to the factories on the part of the young people who still live on the home farms is in places very strong; that city people in ever increasing numbers are buying homes in the country and mingling with the farmers socially; that recreational opportunities are now sought largely in the towns and villages instead of in the country itself, we have a picture of rural life contrasting violently with that of an earlier time.

The changes indicated have brought others in their train. Some of our local correspondents report half the homes in their neighborhoods supplied with furnace heat, flowing water, bathroom, electric light, and the radio. Practically all farmers have automobiles, in addition to trucks for hauling. Common schools are more adequate than formerly, and virtually all children can attend high school from their homes. Some of the rural churches have been closed because the auto enables farmers to attend services in town or city; others, because a change in the population elements has left certain churches without constituents.

The tendency in these counties has been to produce a marked blending of the social life of country and town. This, also, is bound to bring about a population change, the nature of which it is too early in the process to ascertain. Perhaps we may anticipate as one effect an increase in tenancy, with more farm owners retired but residing on their farms and living a leisurely life devoted in part to travel and to books. The number of good farm libraries reported to exist throughout the lake-shore counties is one of the surprises to those familiar with conditions half a century ago. But doubtless an increasing number of practical farmers who are mak-

ing their livings by actually operating farms will approximate the type of life just described, as many do already. With the modern conveniences there is no reason why a well-trained skillful farmer should be more enslaved by his work than the professional man or the man of business. The use he makes of such time as he can save depends upon his tastes, and these in turn will depend upon his general education, which is becoming much broader than formerly.

"The farm home of tomorrow," says a young writer⁴ who lives in one of the four counties, "will be a modern up-to-date city residence placed in the pure, wholesome air of the country, with the city brought to its back door by auto, bus, train and truck and—perhaps—airplane."

⁴ M. Oveda Crane.

APPENDIX

POPULATION STATISTICS—KENOSHA COUNTY
BRIGHTON

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES			
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	879	187	255	442	94	144 Eng. 123 172	166	...	33	437	48	117	160
1860	1175 Unknown 2	447	137	584	260	Eng. 156 96	121	...	36	589	26	184	210
1870	1187 Unknown 2	644	59	703	282	Eng. 89 63	88	2	14	482	19	180	199
1885	961	...	...	659	180		41	7	11	302	31	146	177
1895	878	...	...	642	124	48	28	11	25	236	51	126	177
1905	878	637	60	697	89	36	11	25	20	181	104	75	179
1920	843	700	54	754	37	10	6	11	25	89	140	38	178

BRISTOL

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN				FOREIGN					FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	German	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	1123 Unknown 1	210	772	982	46	20	53	..	21	140	157	37	195 Unknown 1
1860	1370 Unknown 64	368	705	1073	42	19	108	..	64	233	170	53	233 Unknown 10
1870	1140 Unknown 1	475	470	945	65	28 Eng. 21	73	6	22	194	173	63	236 Unknown 10
1885	1134	...	...	897	150	28	26	11	22	237	135	100	235
1895	1143	...	...	869	168	35	21	38	12	274	100	116	216
1905	1168	680	263	943	123	29	3	52	18	225	165	81	246
1920	1198	780	204	984	89	22	3	48	52	214	173	103	276

PLEASANT PRAIRIE

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN						FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Ger-many	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandi-navia	Other Lands	Total	Ameri-can	Foreign	Total
1850	956	197	347	544	30	160 Eng. 114 Wales 34	192	..	30	412	62	104	166
1860	1399 Unknown 166	417	389	806	86	142 Eng. 119	150	1	45	427	94	122	233
1870	1377 Unknown 10	536	375	911	145	112 Eng. 80	148	13	38	456	87	155	Unknown 17 242
1885	1494	...	...	1025	159	90	77	123	20	469	67	197	264
1895	1524	...	...	1091	145	70	24	125	69	433	102	192	294
1905	2575	1821	85	1906	195	72	41	254	107	669	228	263	491
1920	2030	1093	417	1510	93	36	3	152	236	520	239	208	447

RANDALL

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN				FOREIGN				FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign
1850*	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	..	..	...	...	..
1860	659 Unknown 47	174	309	483	29	50 Eng. 38 24	41	..	9	129	79	30
1870	533 Unknown 9	243	158	401	83	Eng. 23 6	14	..	2	123	53	44
1885	489	...	...	379	96	6	7	..	1	110	59	47
1895	643	...	...	452	154	6	5	14	12	191	61	83
1905	843	491	154	655	142	11	1	14	20	188	90	68
1920	1163	508	265	773	120	14	11	83	162	390	112	79

*Included in Wheatland.

SOMERS

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN				FOREIGN					FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Ger-many	Great Britain	Hol-land	Scandi-navia	Other Lands	Total	Amer-ican	For-eign	Total
1850*	680	141	339	480	69	69 Eng. 30 Scot. 39	..	...	62 Ireland 37 Guernsey 19	199	69	42	111
1860	1277 Unknown 31	432	379	811	160	112 Eng. 52 Scot. 54	5	5	153 Ireland 56 Guernsey 31	435	96	113	219 Unknown 10
1870	1357 Unknown 10	617	813	930	203	128 Eng. 77 Scot. 38	5	9	72 Canada 23	417	105	138	244 Unknown 1
1885	1590	...	...	1093	290	81	6	1	119	497	82	213	295
1895	1819	...	...	1309	264	75	9	27	135	510	122	224	346
1905	2192	1319	266	1585	257	39	18	162	131	607	166	227	393
1920	2079	1418	248	1666	97	24	28	93	171	413	268	185	453

*Called Pike at this time.

WHEATLAND

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES			
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850*	1194	227	655	882	189	55 Eng. 43 20	50	9	9	312	129	73	202
1860	1077	356	213	569	391	Eng. 13 11	33	15	43	502	58	144	203
1870	Unknown 6 871	457	73	530	298	Scot. 9 3	7	..	24	340	28	132	Unknown 1 160
1885	Unknown 1 999	...	...	687	307	3	1	..	1	312	32	130	162
1895	649	...	...	479	167	3	..	..	..	170	40	93	133
1905	869	659	44	703	144	3	1	11	7	166	97	81	178
1920	800	663	30	693	81	3	..	4	19	107	141	45	186

*Includes what was later called Randall.

POPULATION STATISTICS—MILWAUKEE COUNTY
FRANKLIN

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES		
		Wis-consin	Other States	Total	Germany	Holland	Ireland	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	1248	369	207	576	283	39	292	58	672	15	285	300
1860	1778	683	157	840	528	109	204	92	933	15	298	313
1870	2092	1165	44	1209	642	54	137	55	888	25	305	331
1885	1953	...	..	1344	542	24	45	8	619	44	313	Unknown 1 357
1895	1824	...	..	1331	444	21	18	10	493	100	238	338
1905	1753	1346	43	1389	309	26	11	18	364	187	170	357
1920	1712	1435	41	1476	104	6	6	120 Poland 84	236	282	94	376

GRANVILLE

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN						FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	France	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	1716	427	442	869	6	617	18	188	18	847	88	215	303
1860	2688	1054	334	1388	15	926	22	194	134	1291	82	397	480
1870	2162	1075	158	1233	9	708	30	99	Lux. 51 83	929	73	388	Unknown 1 461
1885	2359	....	...	1539	1	744	15	42	Lux. 42 18	820	92	364	456
1895	2674	....	...	1968	4	641	6	17	38	706	210	372	582
1905	2114	1622	63	1685	..	400	4	12	13	429	251	287	538
1920	2875	2064	219	2283	1	311	6	6	208	592	394	181	575

GREENFIELD

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN				FOREIGN					FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	German	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	1894	493	299	792	808	23	230	...	41	1102	58	278	336
1860	2490 Unknown 5	917	247	1164	981	45	182	7	106 Switz. 36 Canada 27	1321	52	409	462 Unknown 1
1870	2282 Unknown 21	1007	172	1179	877	24	112	..	69 Canada 16 Lux. 16	1082	63	381	445 Unknown 1
1885	2976	...	...	1841	1006	15	52	11	51	1135	89	494	583
1895	5129*	...	...	3716	1220	18	16	38	121 France 53	1413	325	598	923
1905	6348	4300	288	4588	1354	30	20	206	150 Austria 38	1760	544	778	1322
1920	6293	4594	339	4933	706	7	3	48	596	1360	736	578	1314

*Including 400 persons in a convent.

LAKE

Year	Total	American				Foreign					Families		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	1474	288	337	625	681	48	58	5	57	849	73	185	258
1860	1993* Unknown 4	697	234	931	823	40	45	12	138 Holland 50 France 29	1058	64	327	391
1870	2974†	1157	288	1445	837	205 Eng. 104 Wales 63 Scot. 38	104	12	104 Switz. 26 Canada 22	1262	50	372	432
1885	3306	...	...	2002	358	27	94	2	223 Holland 20	1304	56	432	488
1895	4598	...	...	3006	1463	45	37	11	36	1592	639	767	1406
1905	7229	4700	536	5236	1588	36	22	48	299 German Poland 99 Austria 67	1993	431	822	1253
1920	8876	6164	717	6881	730	33	12	70	1150	1995	836	794	1630

*Including 57 students in a theological seminary, 16 nuns, 49 persons in an orphanage.

†Including 168 teachers and students in Catholic school, 99 persons in an orphanage.

OAK CREEK

Year	Total	American			Foreign						Families		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Hungary	Ireland	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	1288	303	154	457	571	92 Eng. 80	..	152	16	831	30	203	233
1860	2240 Unknown 10	877	173	1050	837	86 Eng. 69	..	170	87 France 25 Switz. 25	1180	45	379	424
1870	1723 Unknown 48	918	51	969	544	26	..	70	66 Poland 19	706	26	261	294
1885	2151	...	...	1468	579	37	..	67	..	683	77	317	Unknown 7 394
1895	1786	...	...	1357	402	5	..	22	..	429	91	228	319
1905	1957	1459	40	1499	304	5	70	16	63 Austria 14	458	188	171	359
1920	2292	1566	84	1650	156	1	89	5	391	642	282	203	485

WAUWATOSA

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN						FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	2,046	378	738	1,116	379	87 Eng. 50	356	...	108 Holland 29	930	151	196	347
1860	3,209 Unknown 8	1041	673	1,714	1035	102 Eng. 95	176	...	174 Holland 53 Canada 35 Austria 36	1487	178	416	594
1870	2,871* Unknown 1	1349	390	1,739	874	65 Eng. 50	76	...	116 Holland 20 Bohemia 19 Canada 18	1131	154	455	609
1885	7,829	....	...	4,194	2455	206	563	27	384 Br. Amer. 48 France 32 Holland 31	3635	424	3221	3545
1895	12,173	....	...	7,571	3616	117	548	101	220	4602	416	4364	5780
1905	11,132	5026	2189	7,215	2563	189 Eng. 147	425	102	538 Austria 141	3917	630	1668	2298
1920	15,082	8704	2071	10,775	1780	110	146	132	2139	4307	1347	1118	2465

*In addition to this, 499 persons were listed as being inmates or attendants in almshouse and county asylum.

CEDARBURG

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES			
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Holland	Ireland	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	1173	308	169	477	341	7	6	328	14	696	16	220	236
1860	2235	917	90	1007	889	7	1	270	61 Austria 31 17	1228	3	391	394
1870	2555	1303	55	1358	997	..	..	183	Canada 10 Switz. 4 13	1197	16	442	458
1885	1655	...	..	1046	534	4	..	58	20	609	30	264	294
1895	1591	...	..	1149	402	..	..	20	2	442	106	192	298
1905	1437	1078	11	1089	336	1	..	9	10	348	147	159	306
1920	1283	1098	17	1115	155	..	1	2	168	168	225	74	299

GRAFTON

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign
1850	709	111	211	322	203	41	72	33	38 Canada 35	387	45	110
1860	1782	630	187	817	713	33 Eng. 30	79	40	100 Canada 21 France 21 Lux. 23	965	46	294
1870	1864	919	79	998	689	83 Eng. 19	63	30	51 Lux. 24	866	19	317
1885	1110	...	..	696	377	7	8	15	7	414	11	187
1895	1567	...	..	1143	378	23	10	4	9	424	263	230
1905	1054	830	21	851	198	..	1	2	2	203	110	75
1920	915	810	13	823	61	..	..	..	32	93	154	38

MEQUON

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN						FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Canada	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	2100	547	108	655	35	1217	19	125	41	1437	14	387	409
1860	Unknown 8 3368	1416	74	1490	33	1640	16 Eng. 15	87	102 France 19 Lux. 14	1878	14	595	Unknown 8 609
1870	3156	1693	47	1740	29	1285	5	50	Austria 13 47	1416	20	549	569
1885	3058	....	..	2060	10	945	4	13	Austria 28 Switz. 6 26	998	59	479	538
1895	2903	....	..	2182	2	714	2	3	..	721	155	393	548
1905	2732	2215	33	2248	2	469	..	2	11	484	344	208	552
1920	2408	2133	39	2172	..	188	..	5	43 Austria 16	236	474	109	583

SAUKVILLE

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES			
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	798	121	160	281	321	27	118	23	28	517	23	127	150
1860	1723	681	177	858	486	30 Eng. 23	165	24	160 France 50 Canada 51	845	26	284	310
1870	1931	1051	87	1138	547	9	105	17	115	793	19	317	336
1885	1537	...	..	1008	434	6	55	15	19 France 9 Br. Amer. 10	529	45	241	286
1895	1714	...	..	1315	334	1	18	10	36	399	126	215	341
1905	1595	1309	22	1331	240	..	9	4	11	254	184	123	307
1920	1062	959	14	973	69	2	..	1	17	89	193	33	226

CALEDONIA

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES			
		Wis- consin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandi- navia	Other Lands	Total	Ameri- can	Foreign	Total
1850	1066	218	447	665	225	84 Eng. 60 117	66	5	21	401	95	111	206
1860	2438 Unknown 4	808	489	1297	477	Eng. 70 Wales 35	146	..	397 Bohemia 350	1137	116	355	471
1870	2800	1233	277	1510	550	101 Eng. 48 Wales 45	103	61	475 Bohemia 446	1290	85	435	520
1885	2681	...	...	1601	475	53	50	67	435 Br. Amer. 7	1080	64	442	506
1895	2853	...	...	1916	415	21	36	103	362	937	118	397	515
1905	3173	2144	135	2279	346	14	27	135	372	894	251	362	613
1920	3479	2432	313	2745	167	11	4	101	451	734	442	306	748

DOVER

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign
1850	838	174	209	383	35	270 Eng. 212 Scot. 54	120	16	14	455	34	121
1860	1108 Unknown 4	453	179	632	57	214 Eng. 176 Scot. 38	149	15	37	472	30	165
1870	1047	555	100	655	48	166 Eng. 135 Scot. 71	96	52	30	392	41	160
1885	978	...	...	708	94		42	32	31 Holland 21 Br. Amer. 8	270	62	111
1895	922	...	...	720	50	39	29	9	75	202	75	108
1905	862	664	53	717	38	21	23	40	23	145	122	65
1920	1100	909	83	992	32	4	6	24	42	108	153	37

MOUNT PLEASANT

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN						FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Ger-many	Great Britain	Ire-land	Scandi-navia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	1101	210	632	842	26	93	25	1	114	259	144	48	192
1860	1819	666	552	1218	180	166	93	12	150	601	157	181	342
1870	3379	1479	613	2092	509	111	149	252	Wales 108 266	1287	184	450	Unknown 4 634
1885	2541	...	...	1619	274	187	..	357	Wales 140 104	922	169	379	548
1895	2277	...	...	1539	249	49	49	327	64	738	168	293	461
1905	3592	1970	437	2407	287	..	..	580	318 Austria 87	1185	269	409	678
1920	4070	2124	476	2600	114	27	..	367	962	1470	310	427	737

RAYMOND

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign
1850	1020	213	411	624	40	147 Eng. 124	76	64	69	396	95	88
1860	1235	432	288	720	109	130 Eng. 101	70	135	71 Canada 43	515	86	158
1870	1608	686	196	882	188	104 Eng. 85	51	352	31 Canada 18	726	67	237
1885	1744	...	...	1116	210	51	30	127	210 Br. Amer. 5 Holland 3 France 1	628	56	289
1895	1723	...	...	1200	192	41	14	271	5	523	82	296
1905	1571	1002	194	1196	127	17	3	206	22	375	157	187
1920	1458	1146	43	1189	69	6	1	142	51	269	115	36

ROCHESTER

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN					FAMILIES			
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	1669 Unknown 1	356	834	1190	88	161 Eng. 150 83	74	113	42 Canada 35 40	478	187	115	303 Unknown 1
1860	627 Unknown 5	221	190	411	74	Eng. 76	12	2	Bohemia 35 Canada 2	211	53	65	118
1870	576	429	208	637	67	99 Eng. 89 30	18	9	46	239	68	97	165
1885	481	...	...	361	61	41	8	1	20	120	42	60	102
1895	760	...	...	614	83	41	4	7	11	146	91	84	175
1905	739	542	86	628	49	25	5	7	25	111	143	40	183
1920	439	352	43	395	14	8	1	8	13	44	90	18	108

WATERFORD

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN			FOREIGN						FAMILIES		
		Wis- consin	Other States	Total	Germany	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandi- navia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	....	...	...	....	...	..	..	..	..	...	...	..	...
1860	1032	388	356	744	125	62	27	46	28	288	105	79	184
1870	1580	750	318	1068	290	Eng. 55 59	36	93	31	512	135	179	314
1885	1619*	...	...	1151	332	Eng. 51 27	21	82	6	468	90	213	303
1895	1637	...	...	1257	257	22	19	66	16	380	122	213	335
1905	1572	1197	86	1283	191	14	8	55	21	289	209	142	351
1920	861	693	57	750	76	6	..	18	11	111	161	52	213

*Including 478 in village.

YORKVILLE

YEAR	TOTAL	AMERICAN				FOREIGN					FAMILIES		
		Wisconsin	Other States	Total	German	Great Britain	Ireland	Scandinavia	Other Lands	Total	American	Foreign	Total
1850	997	215	379	594	67	266 Eng. 233 314	48	3	19	403	80	98	178
1860	1244	412	347	759	75	Eng. 259 307	49	5	41	484	88	147	235
1870	Unknown 1 1587	685	257	942	92	Eng. 271 113	40	142	64	645	82	220	302
1885	1096	...	...	725	80		17	128	33 Holland 18 Br. Amer. 11	371	42	166	208
1895	1112	...	...	789	53	74	7	164	25 Holland 23	323	68	146	214
1905	1084	799	43	842	31	41	4	139	27	242	162	79	241
1920	1133	825	83	909	26	14	1	98	85	224	155	92	248

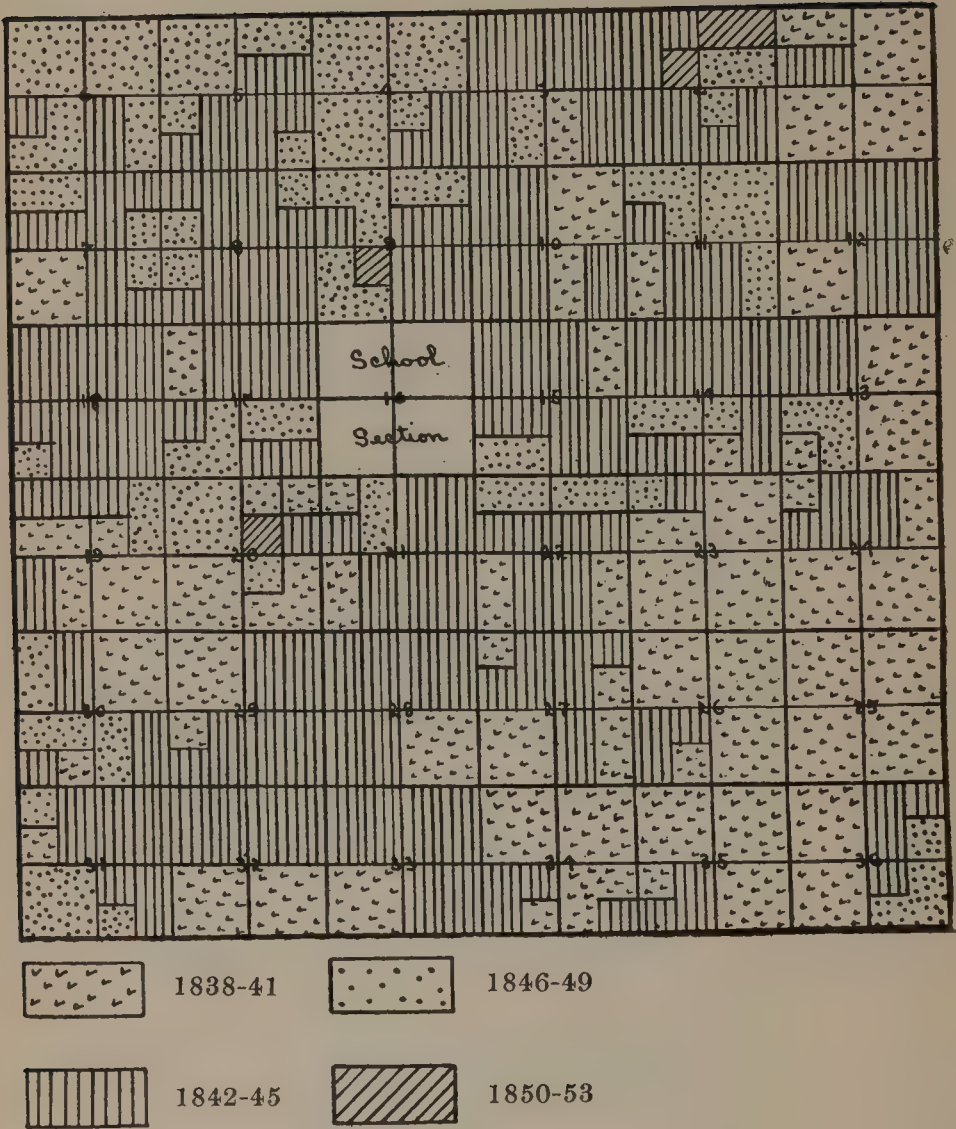


FIG. 1. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF BRIGHTON
KENOSHA COUNTY

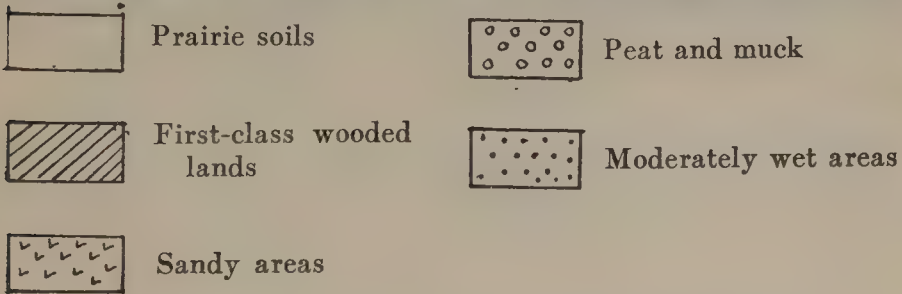


FIG. 2. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF BRIGHTON, KENOSHA COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

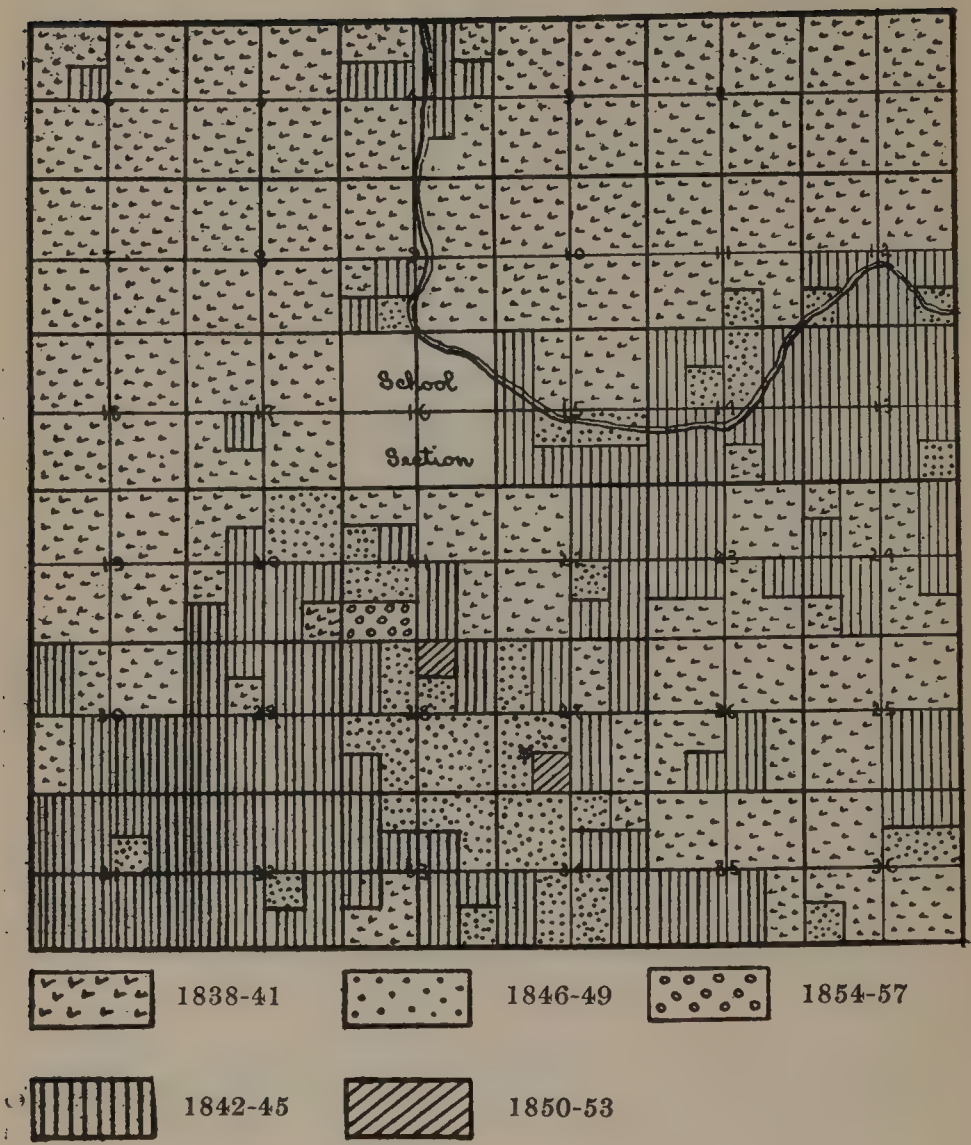


FIG. 3. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF BRISTOL
KENOSHA COUNTY

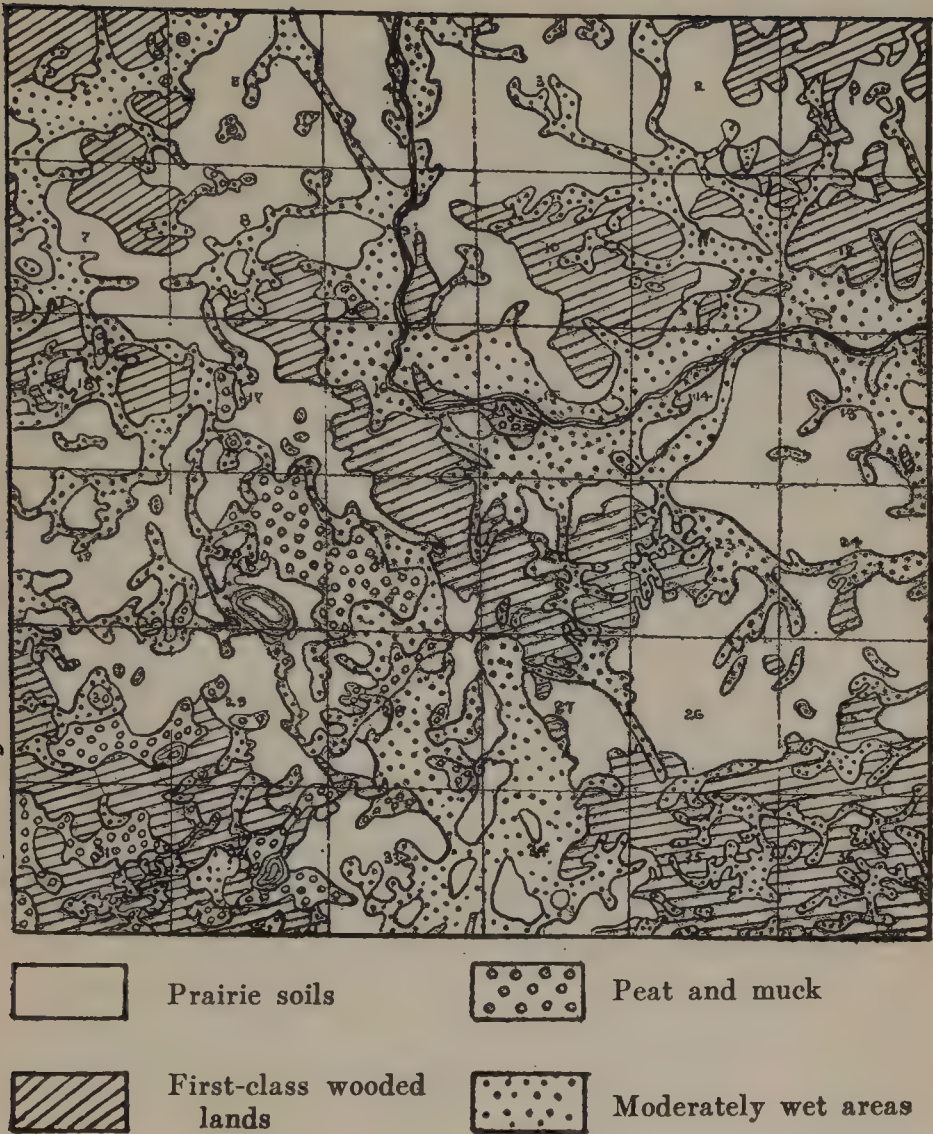


FIG. 4. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF BRISTOL, KENOSHA COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

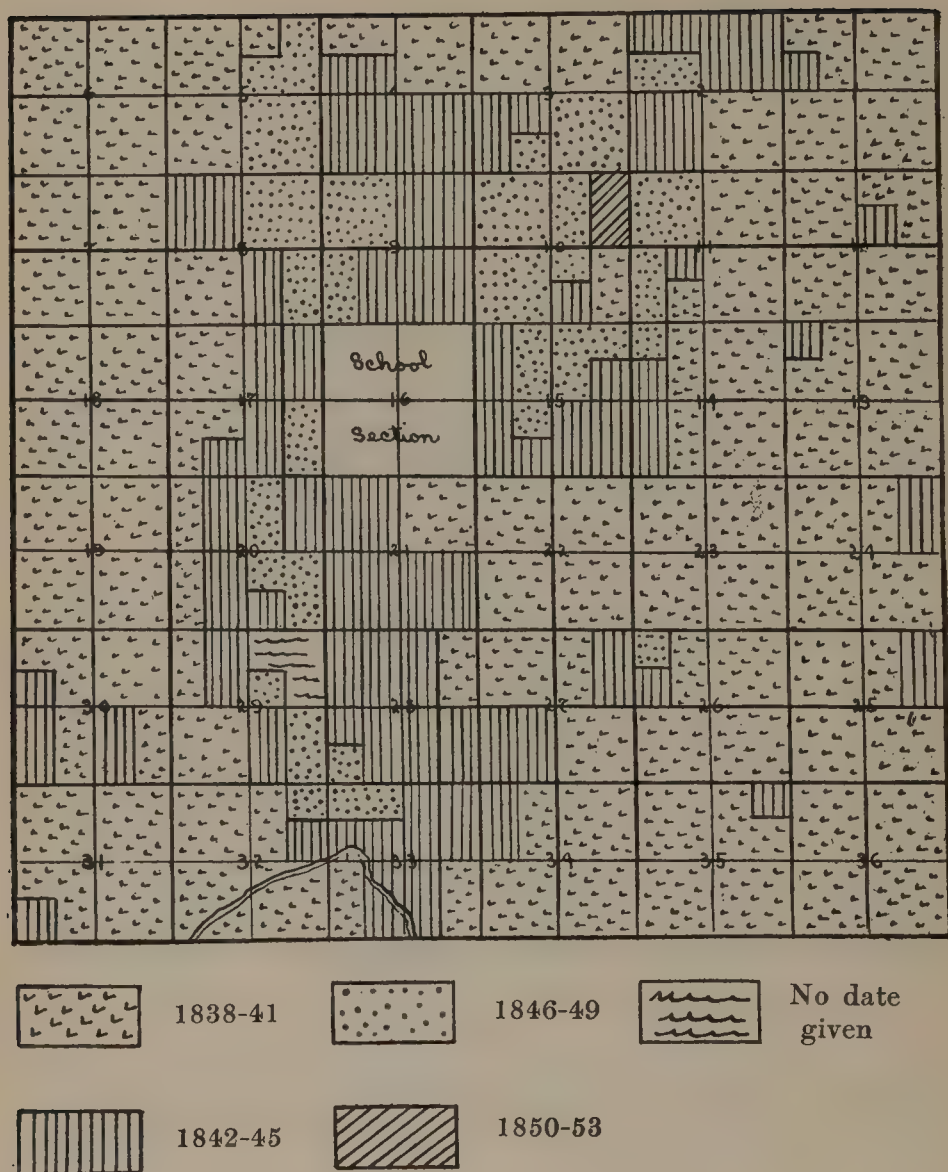


FIG. 5. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF PARIS
KENOSHA COUNTY

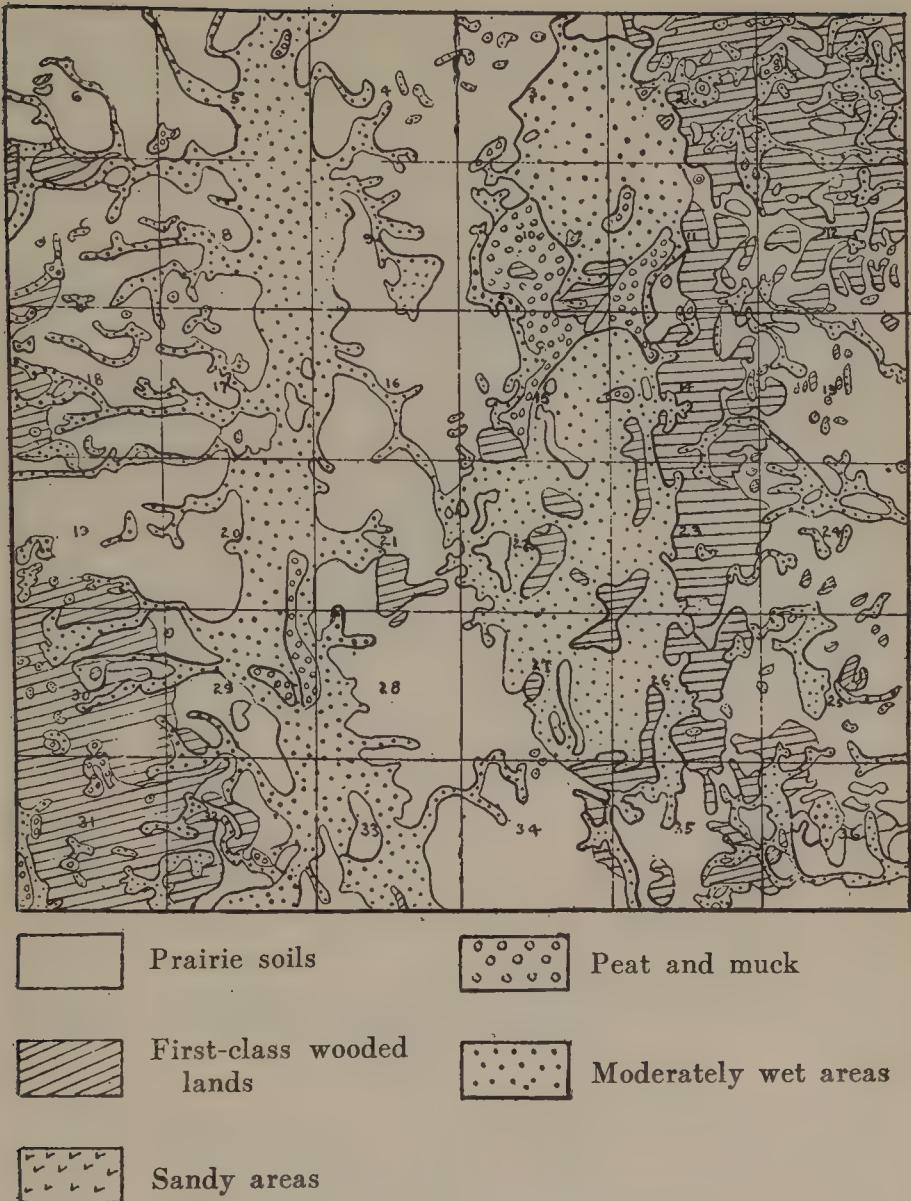


FIG. 6. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF PARIS, KENOSHA COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

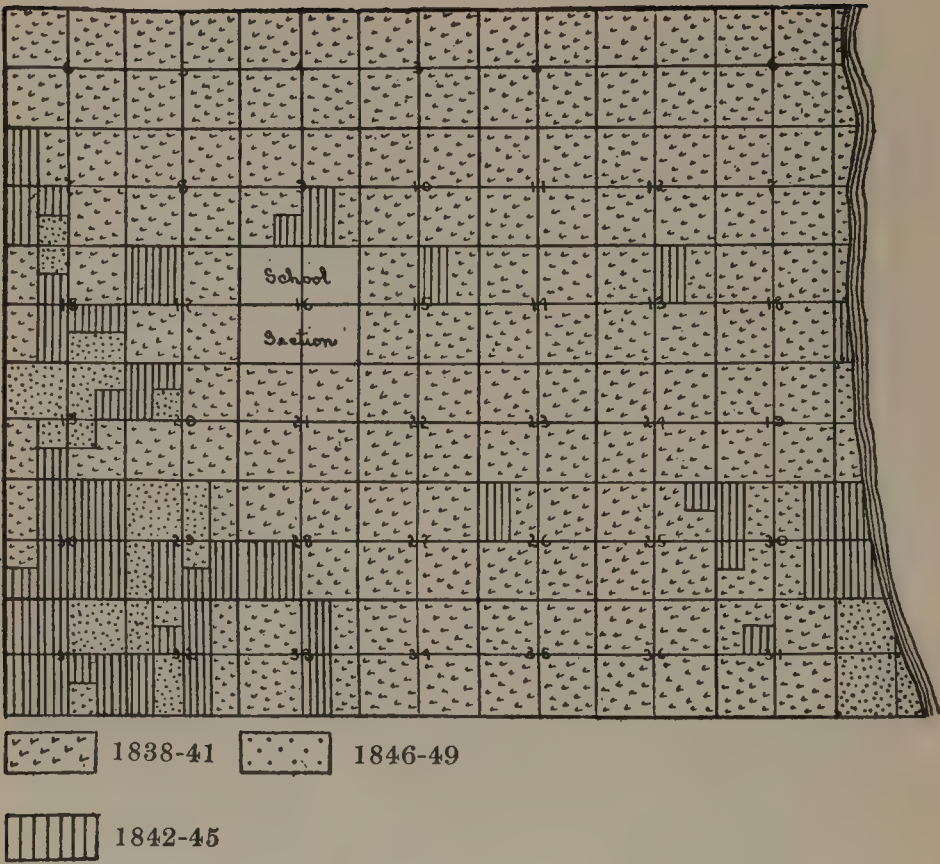
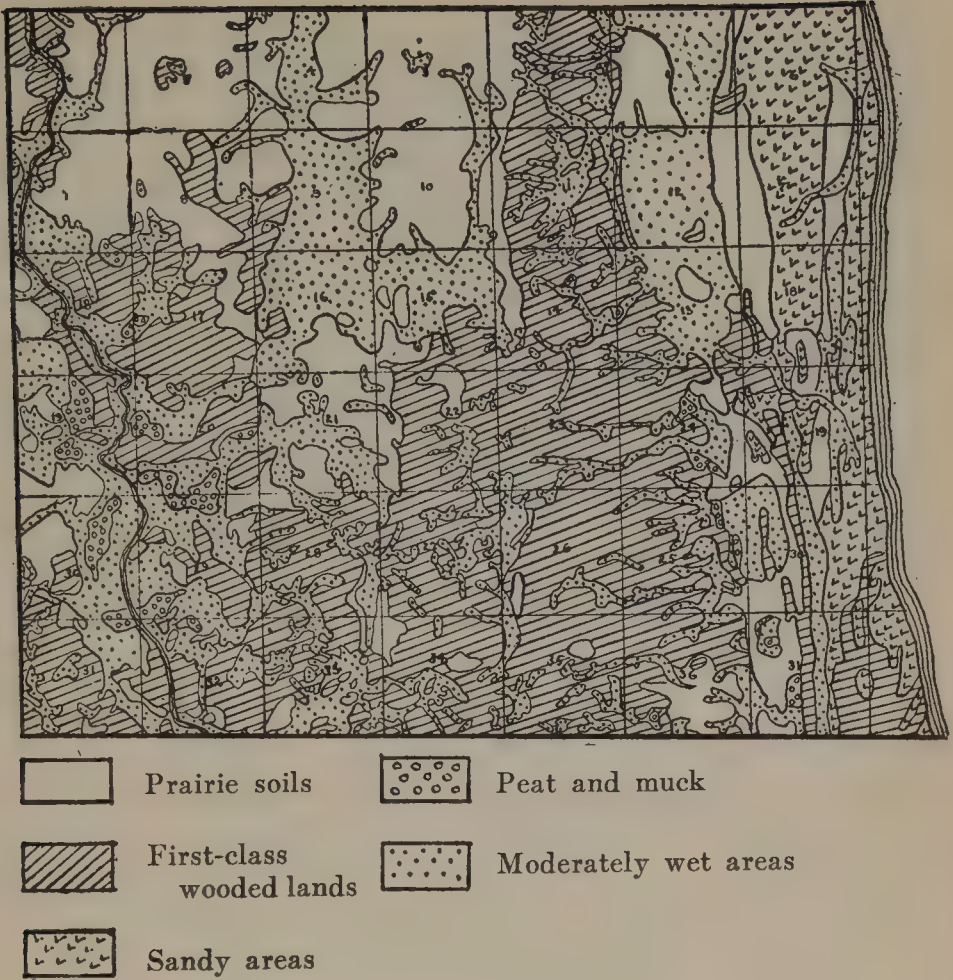


FIG. 7. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF PLEASANT PRAIRIE
KENOSHA COUNTY



**FIG. 8 SOIL MAP, TOWN OF PLEASANT PRAIRIE
KENOSHA COUNTY**

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

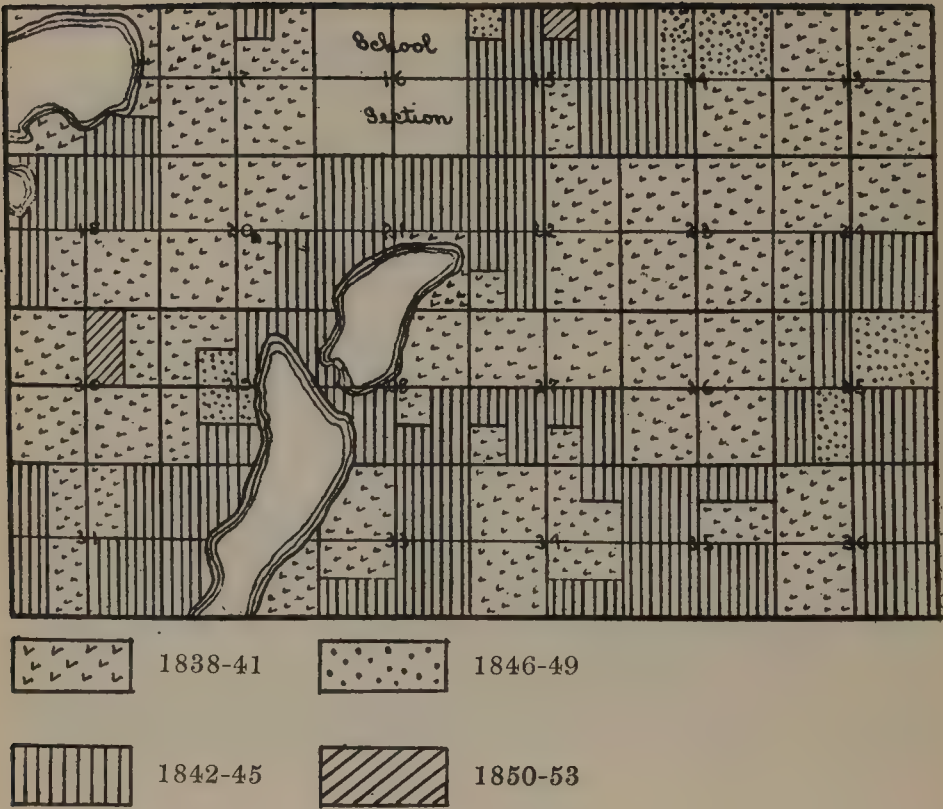


FIG. 9. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF RANDALL
KENOSHA COUNTY

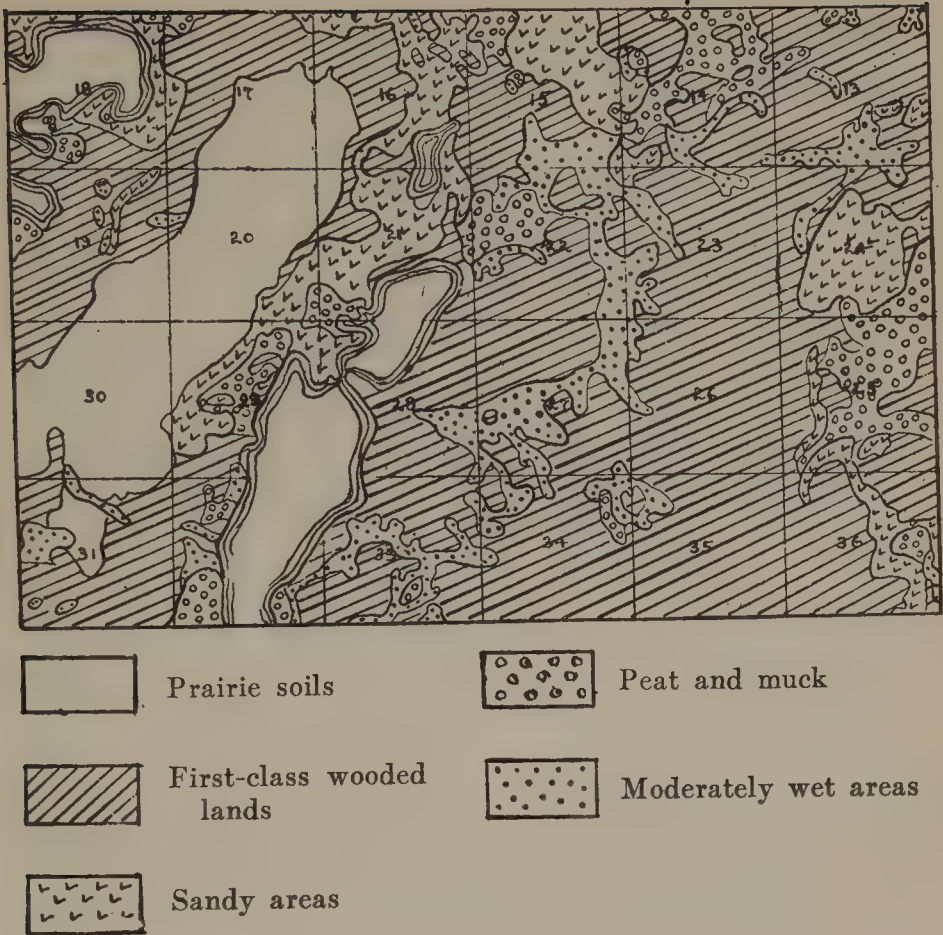


FIG. 10. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF RANDALL, KENOSHA COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

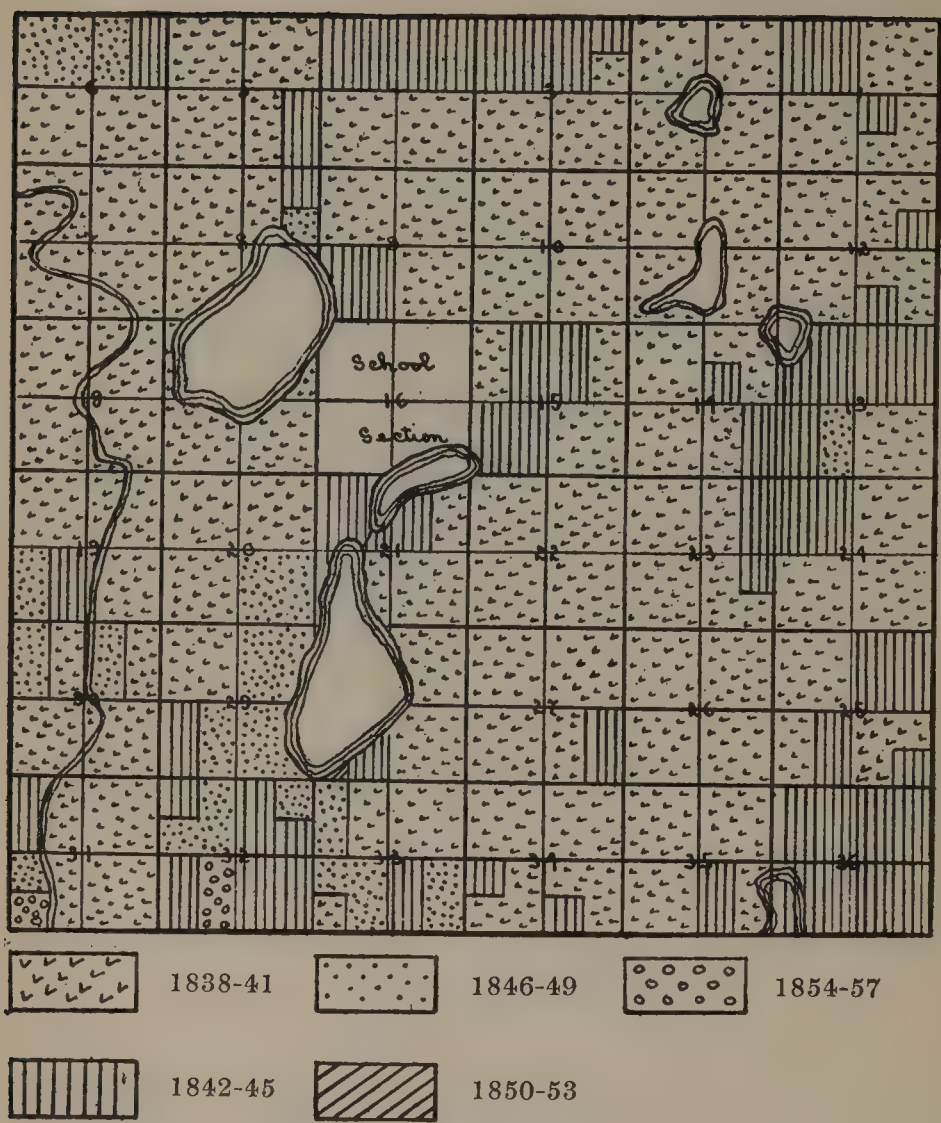


FIG. 11. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF SALEM
KENOSHA COUNTY

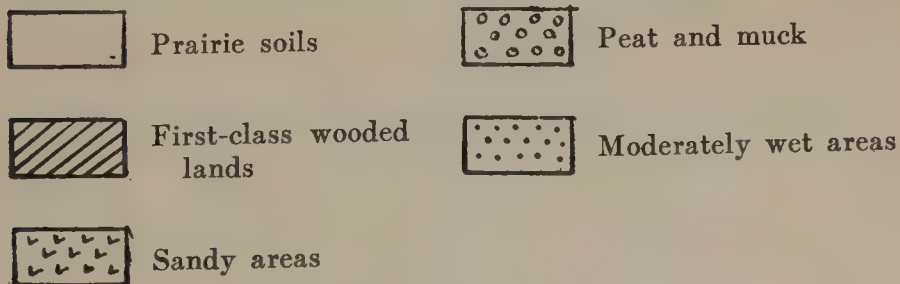


FIG. 12. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF SALEM, KENOSHA COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

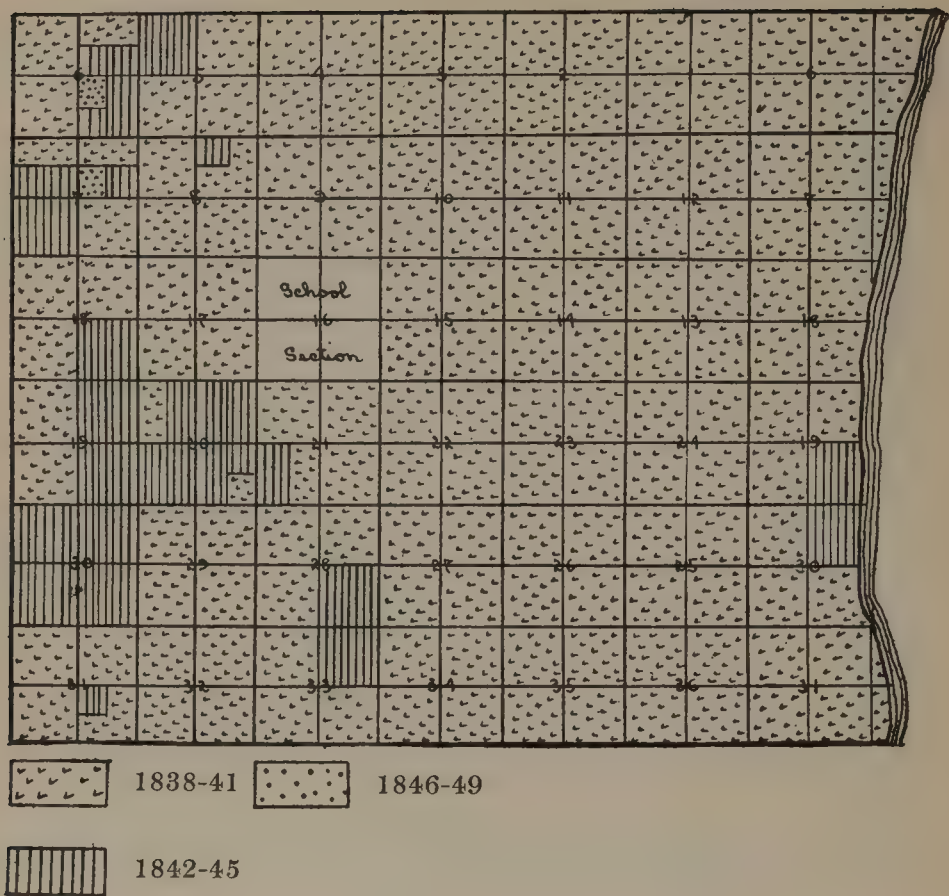


FIG. 13. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF SOMERS
KENOSHA COUNTY

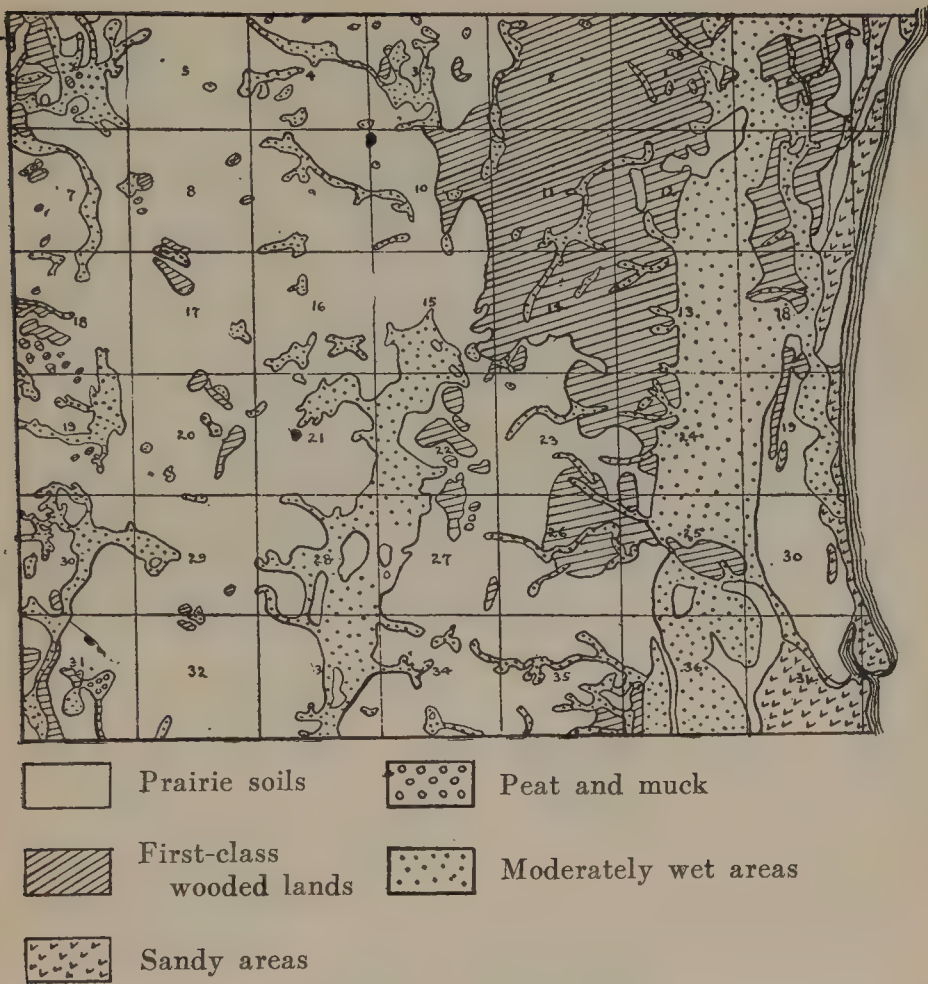


FIG. 14. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF SOMERS, KENOSHA COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

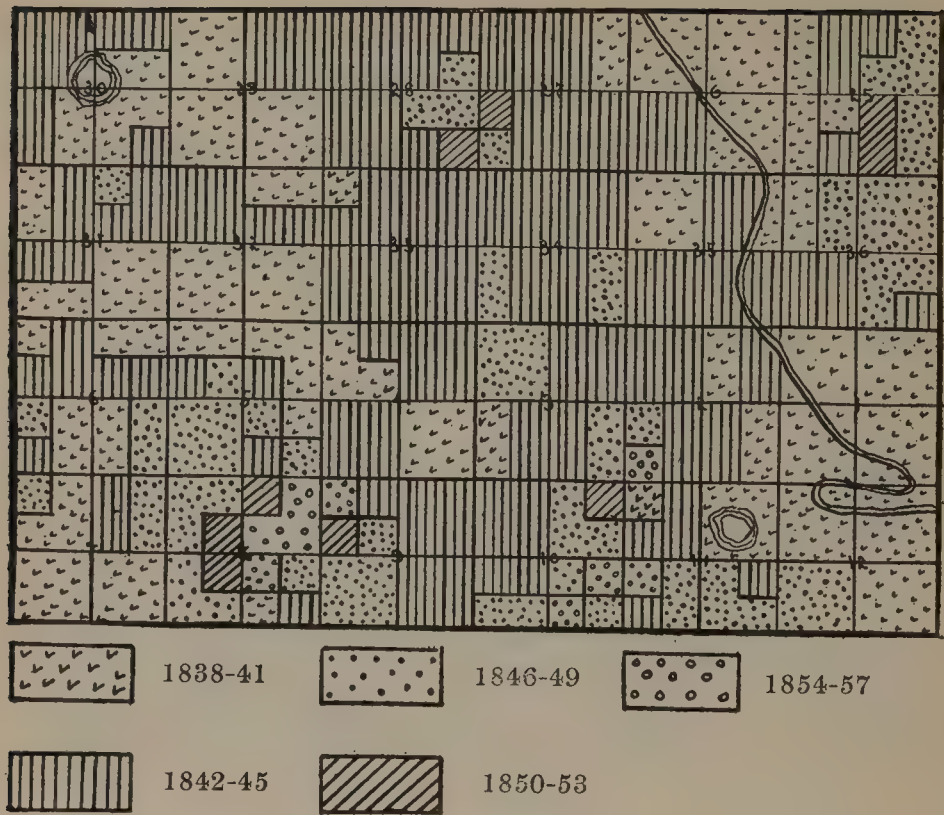


FIG. 15. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF WHEATLAND
KENOSHA COUNTY

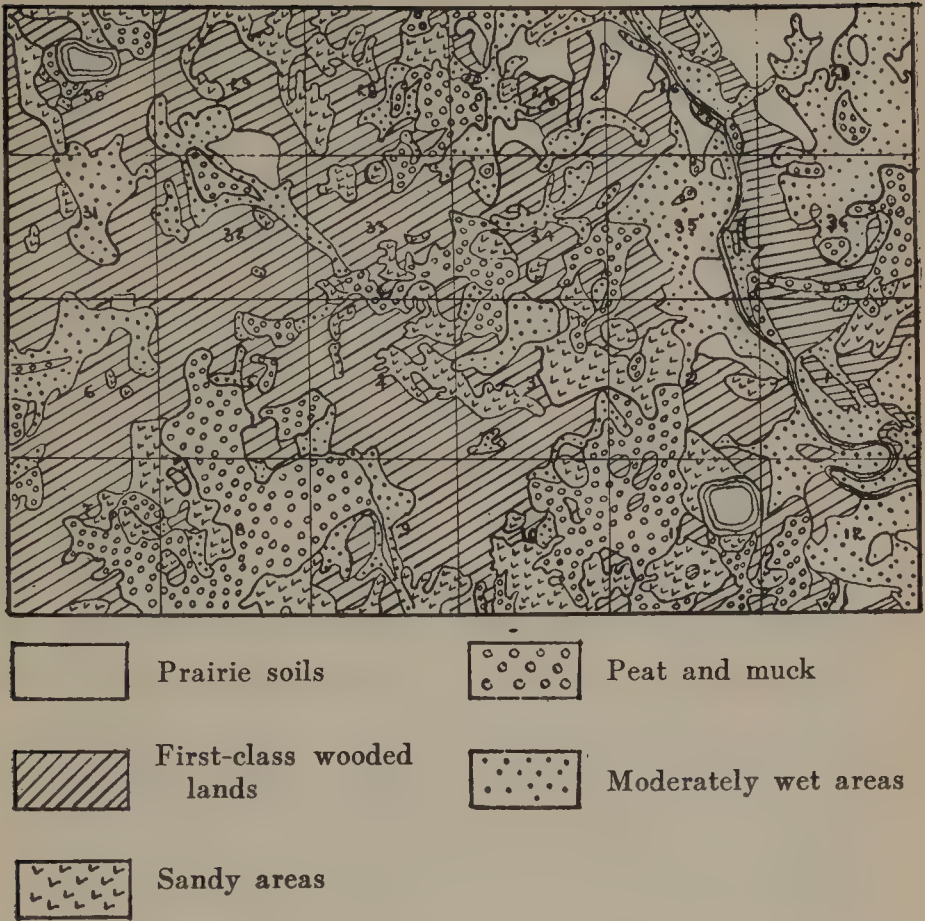


FIG. 16. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF WHEATLAND, KENOSHA COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

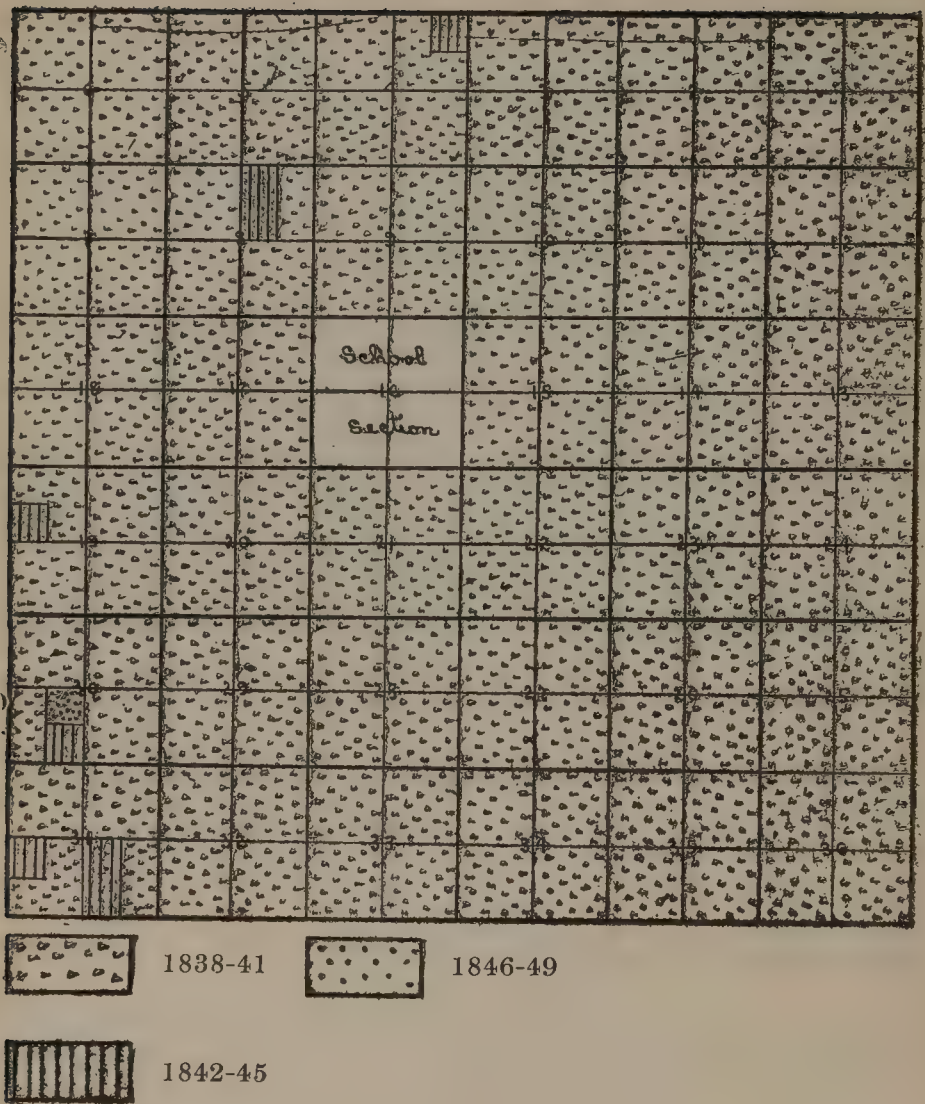


FIG. 17. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF FRANKLIN
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

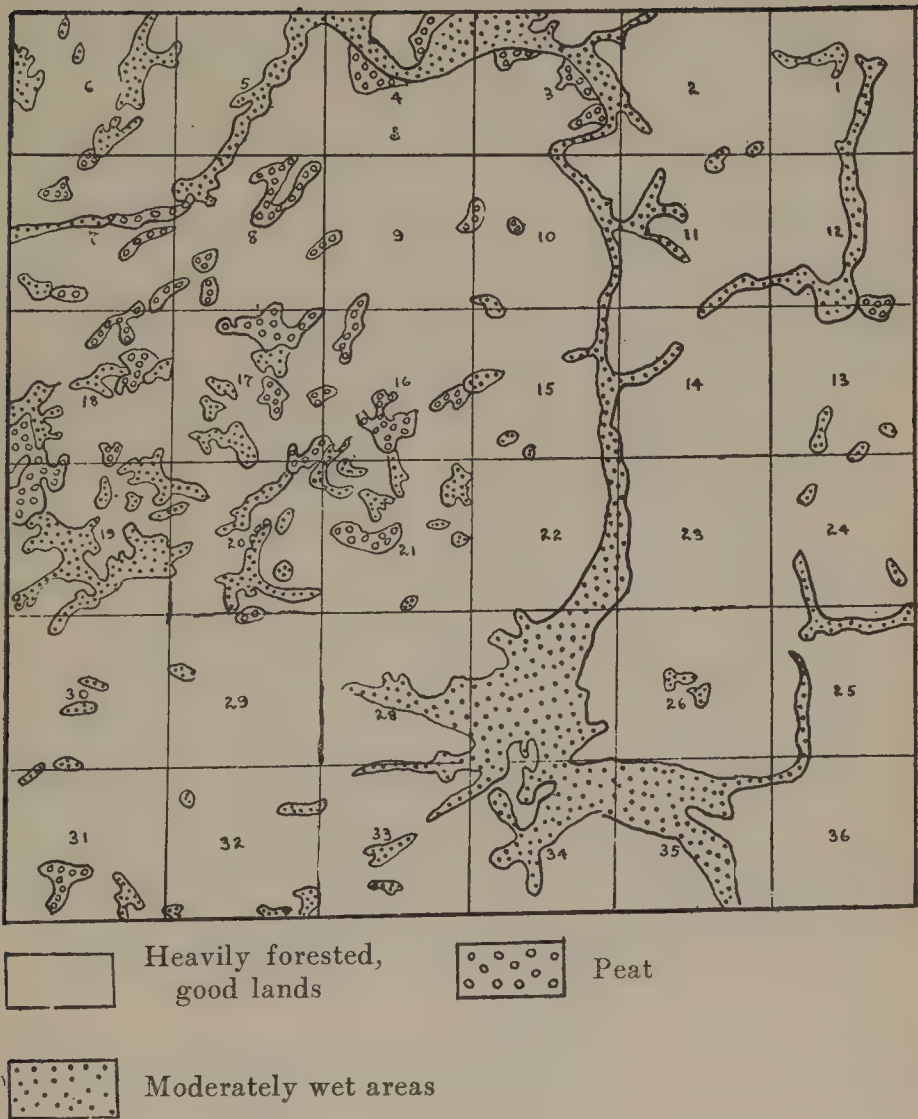


FIG. 18. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF FRANKLIN
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and
Natural History Survey

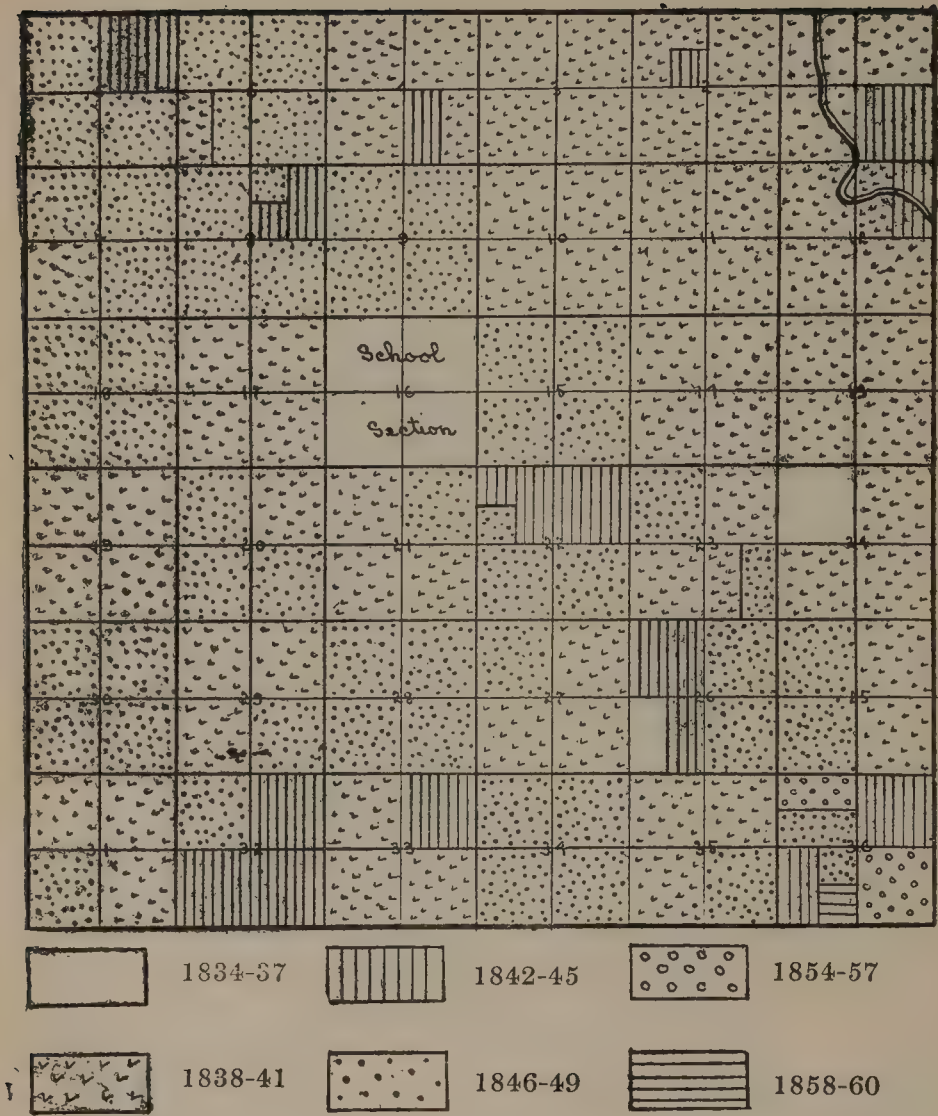


FIG. 19. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF GRANVILLE
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

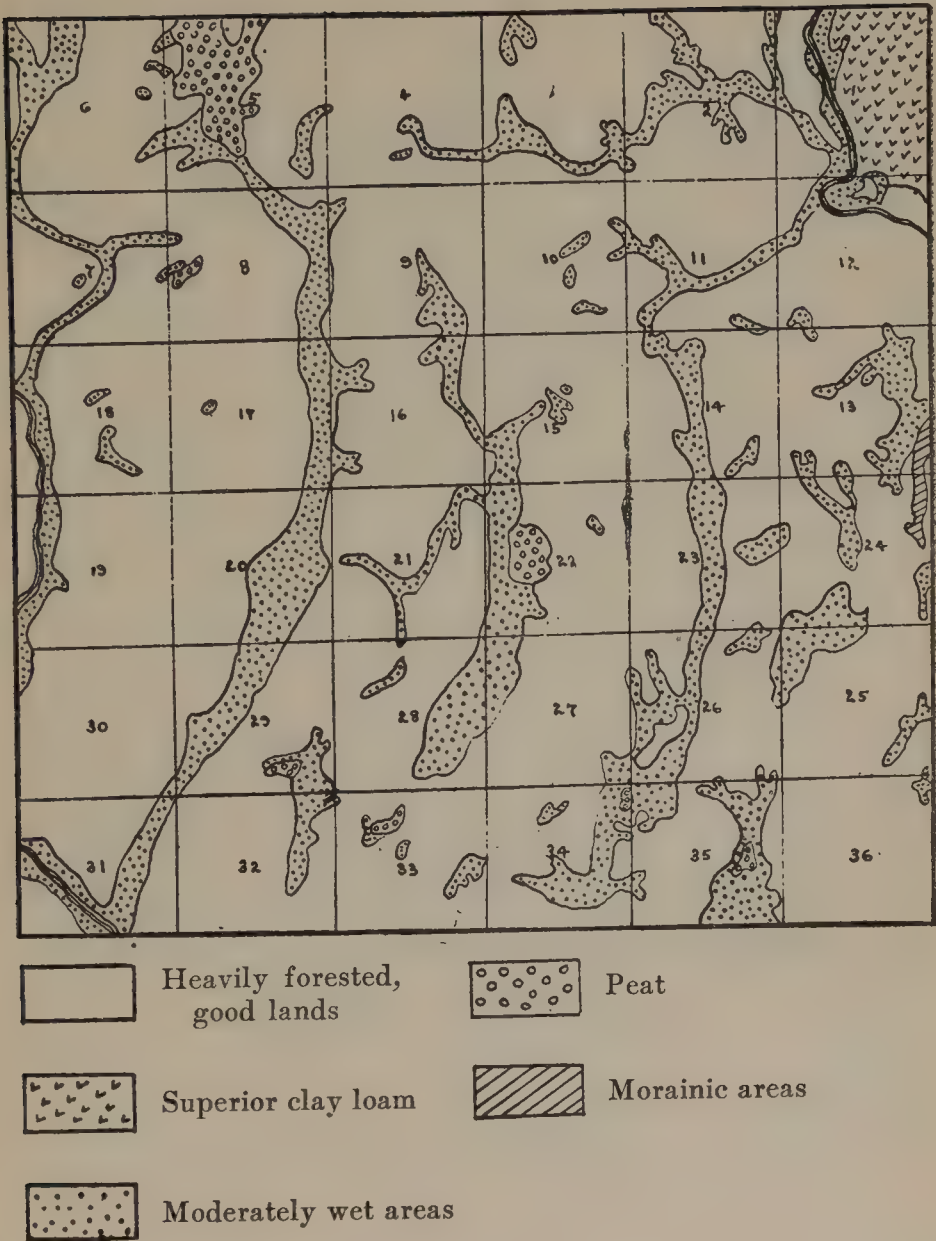


FIG. 20. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF GRANVILLE
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

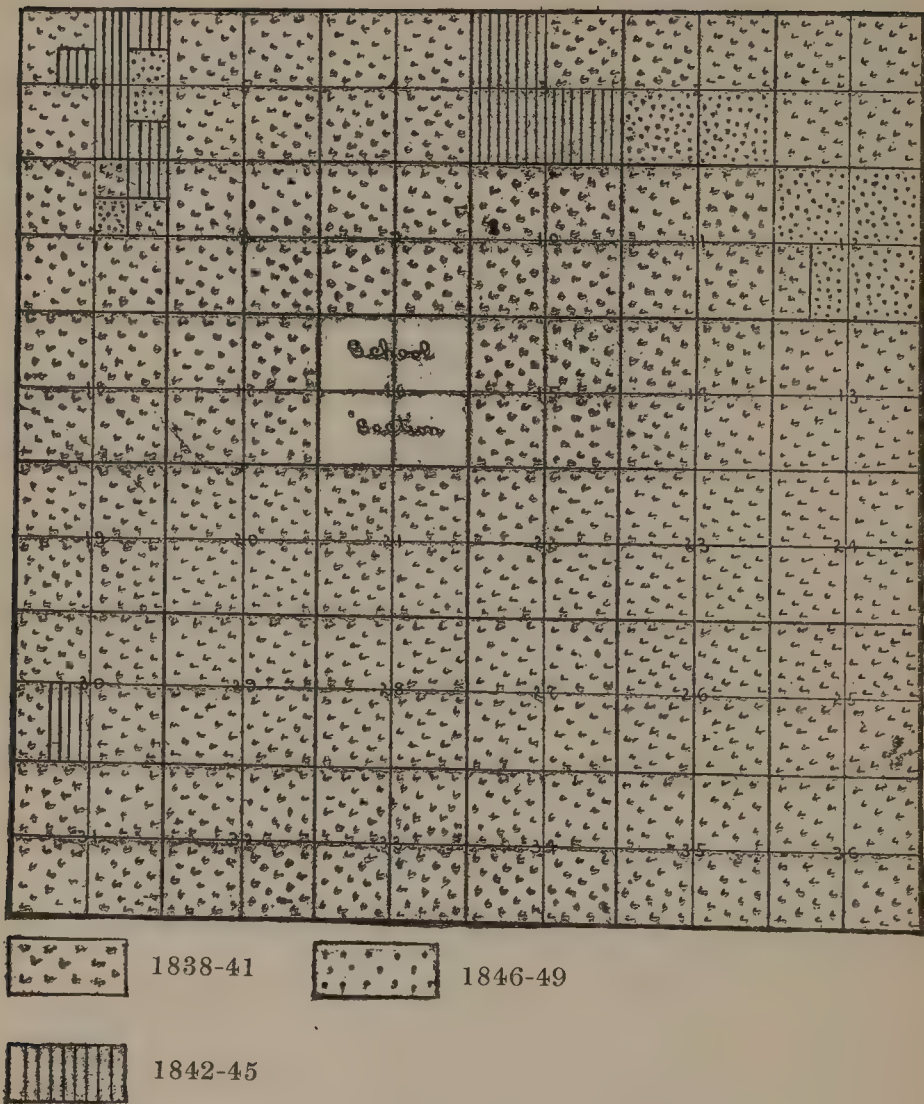


FIG. 21. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF GREENFIELD
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

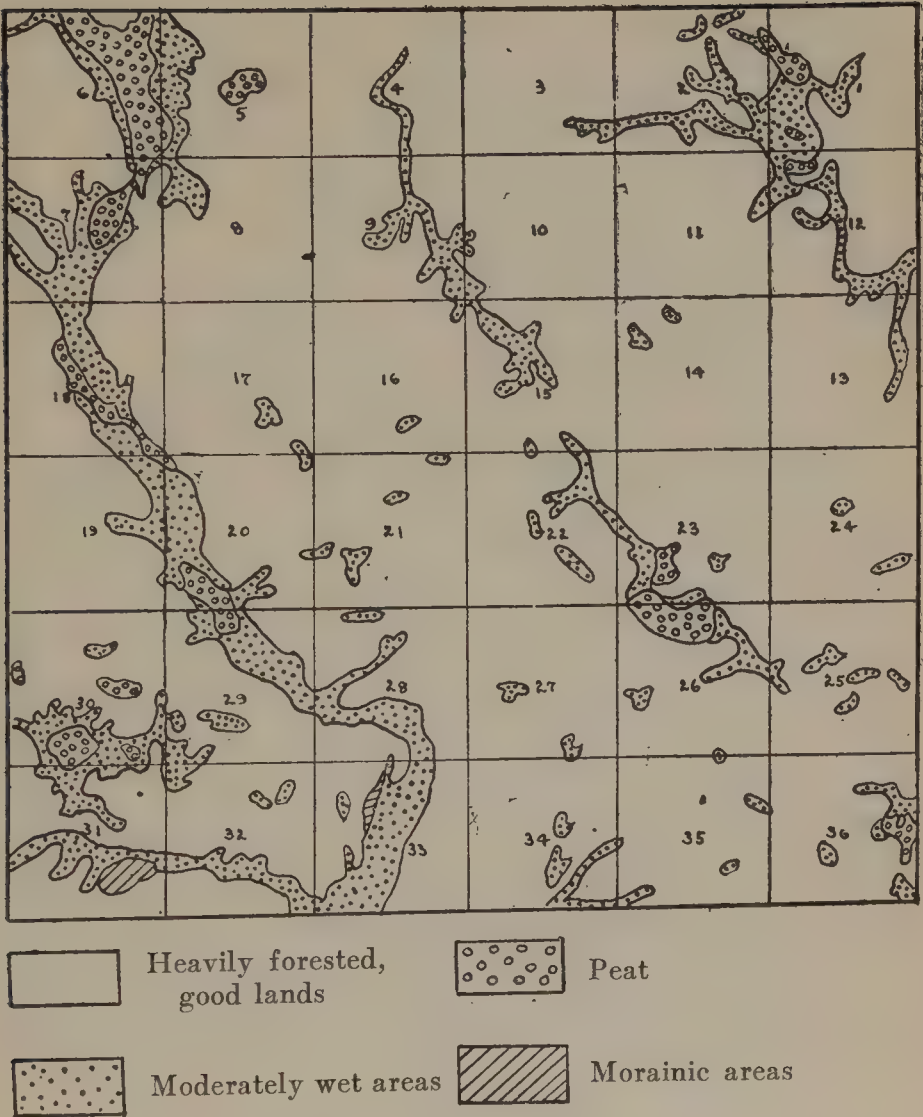


FIG. 22. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF GREENFIELD
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

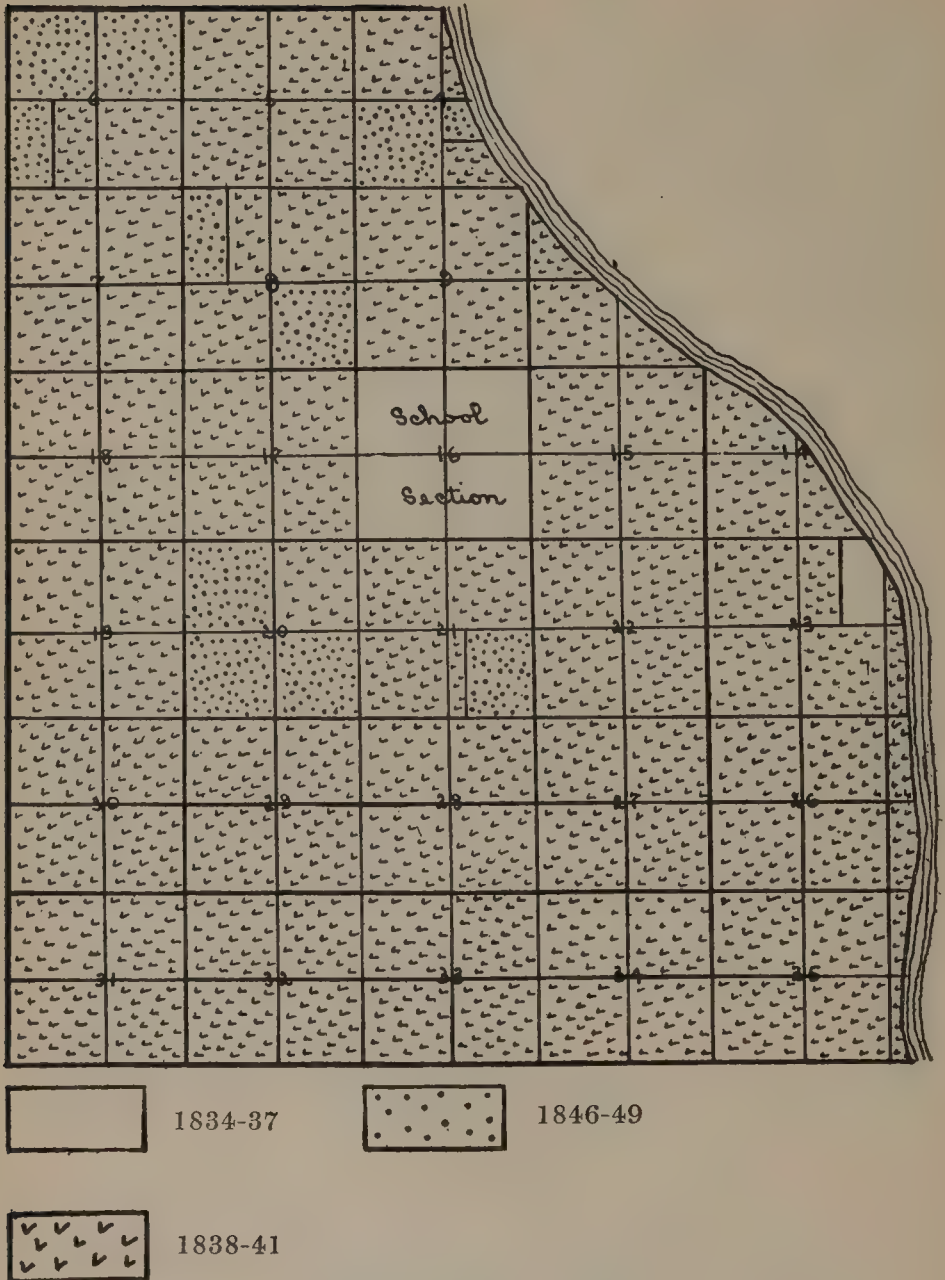


FIG. 23. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF LAKE
MILWAUKEE COUNTY



FIG. 24. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF LAKE, MILWAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

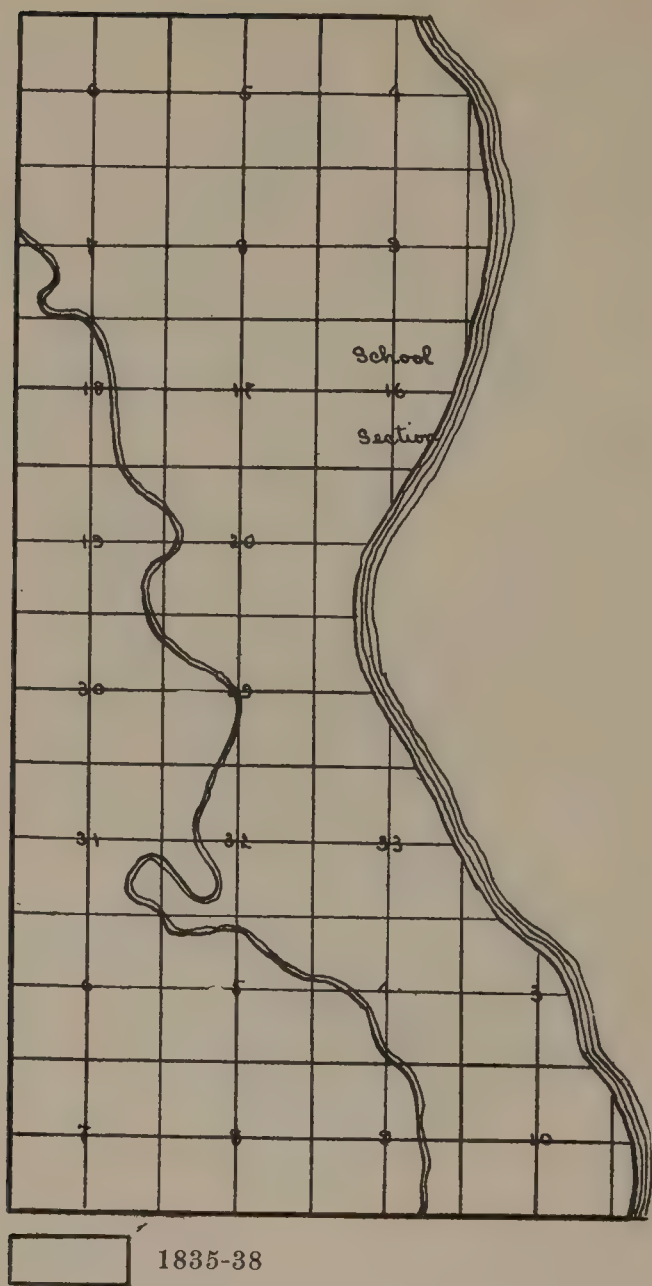


FIG. 25. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF MILWAUKEE
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

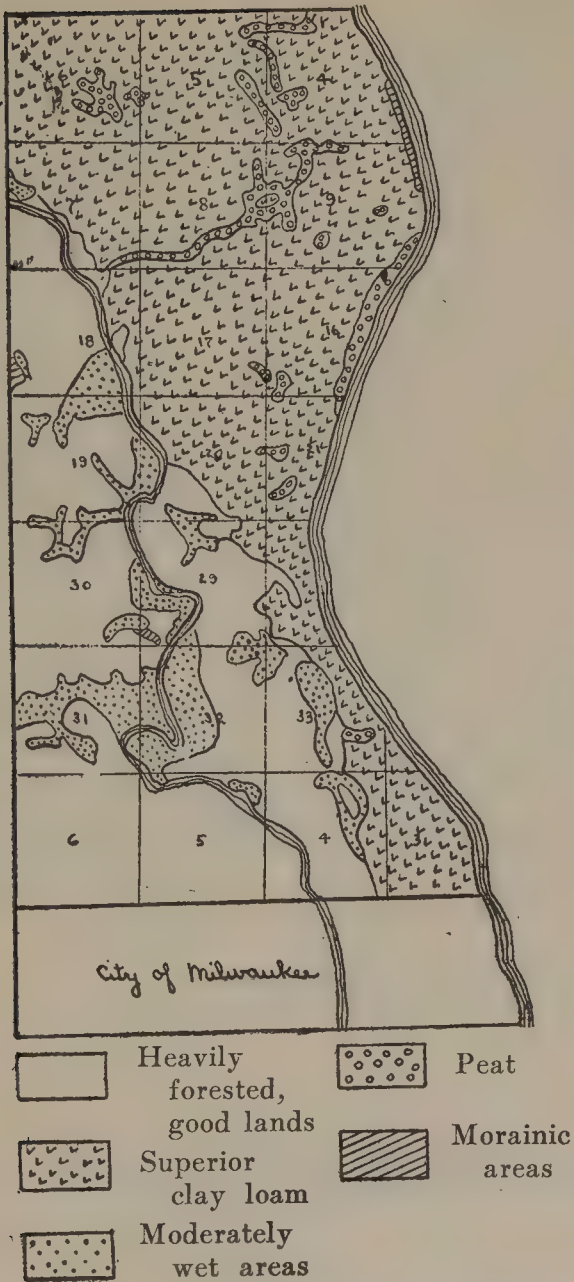


FIG. 26. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF MILWAUKEE
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

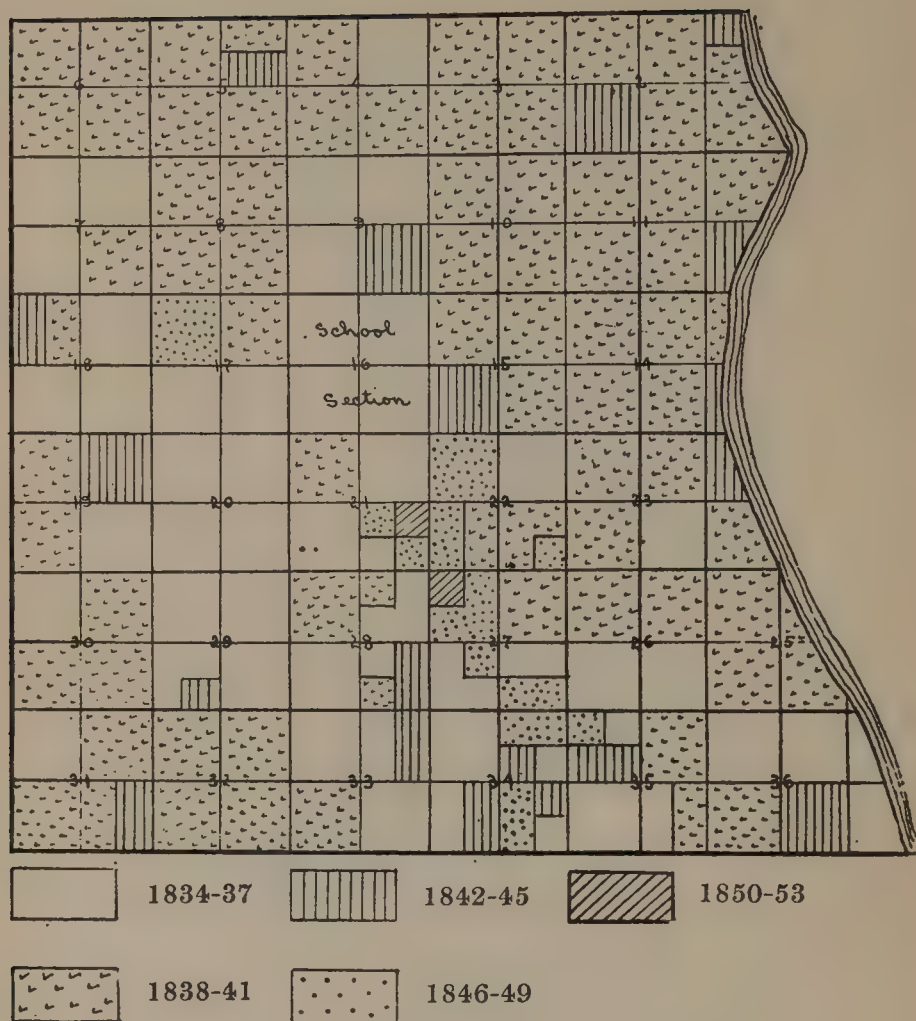


FIG. 27. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF OAK CREEK
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

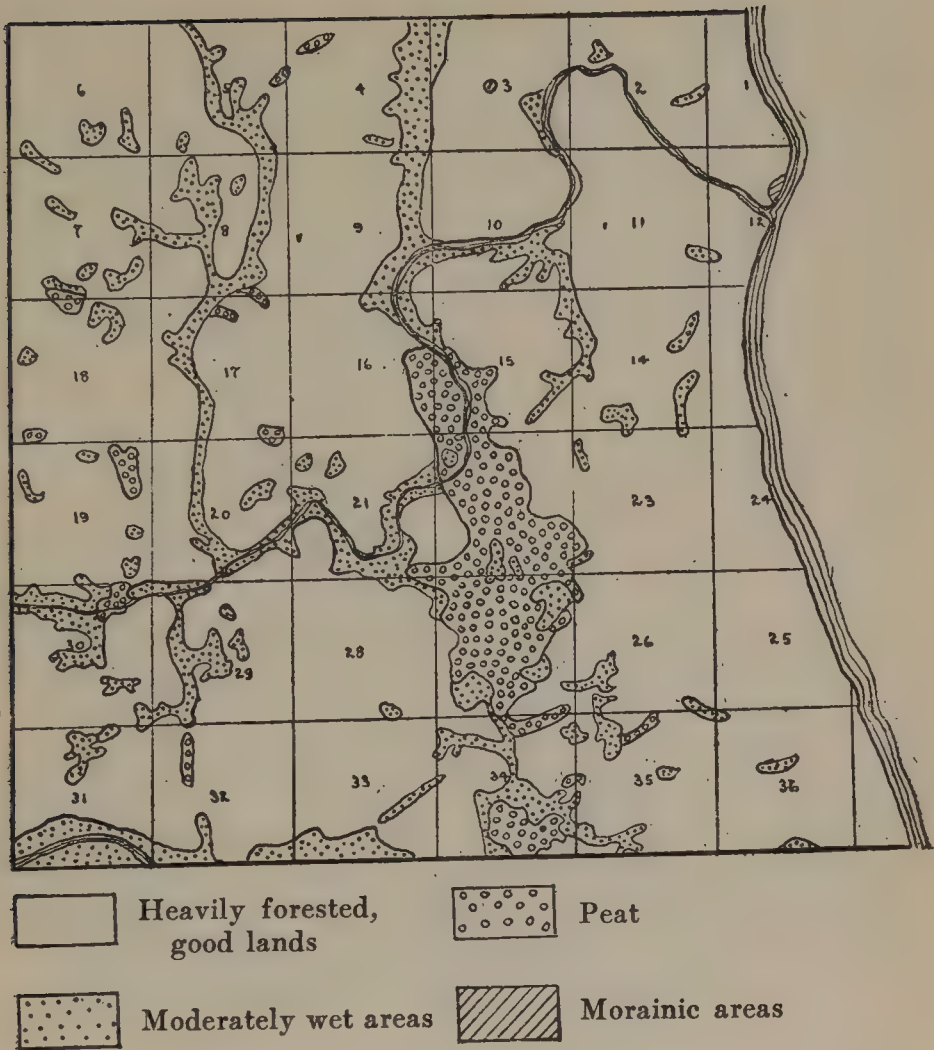


FIG. 28. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF OAK CREEK
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and
Natural History Survey

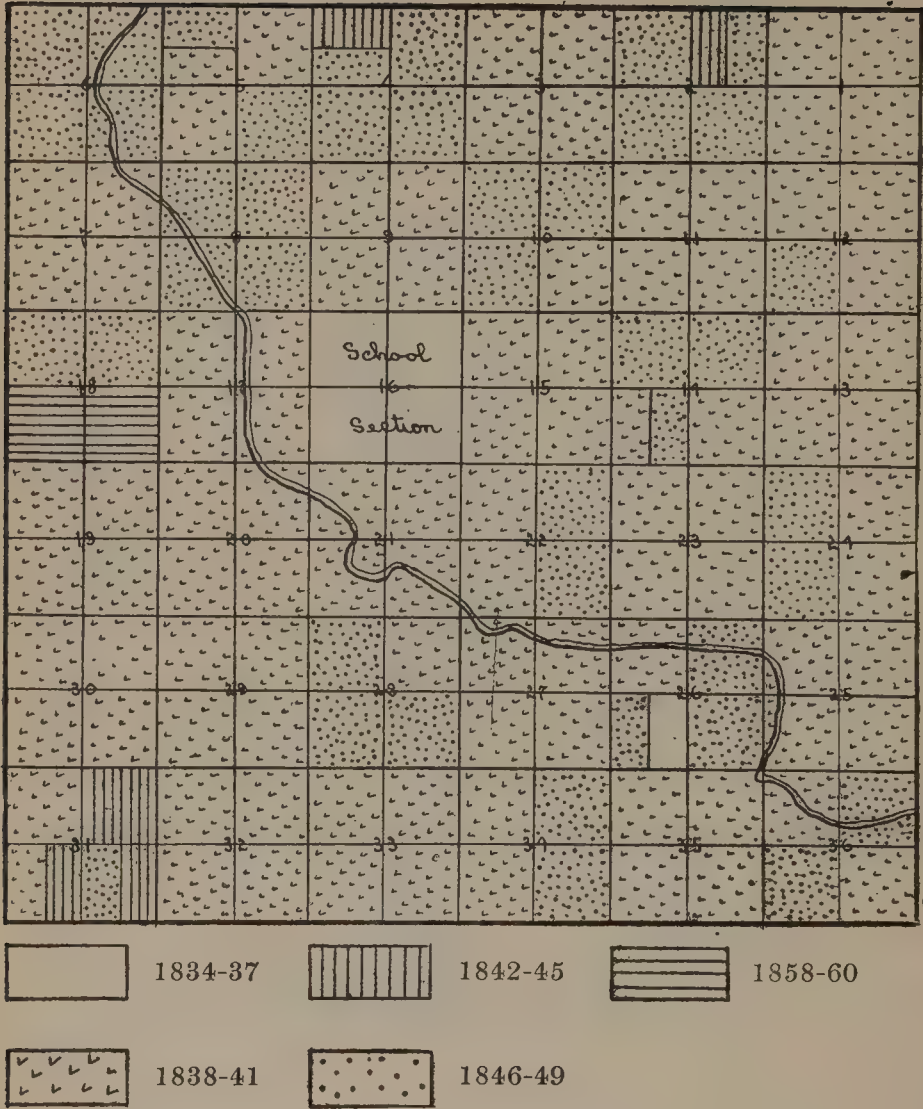


FIG. 29. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF WAUWATOSA
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

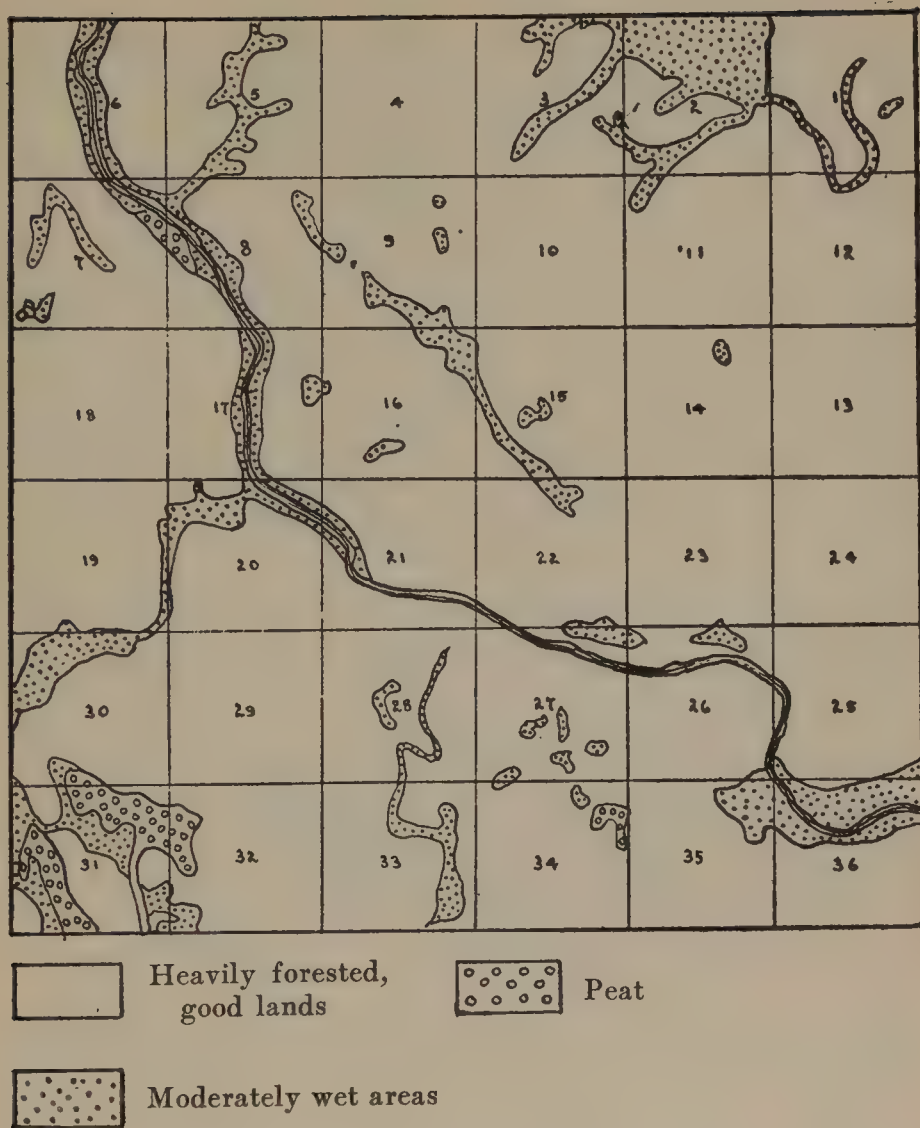


FIG. 30. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF WAUWATOSA
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and
Natural History Survey

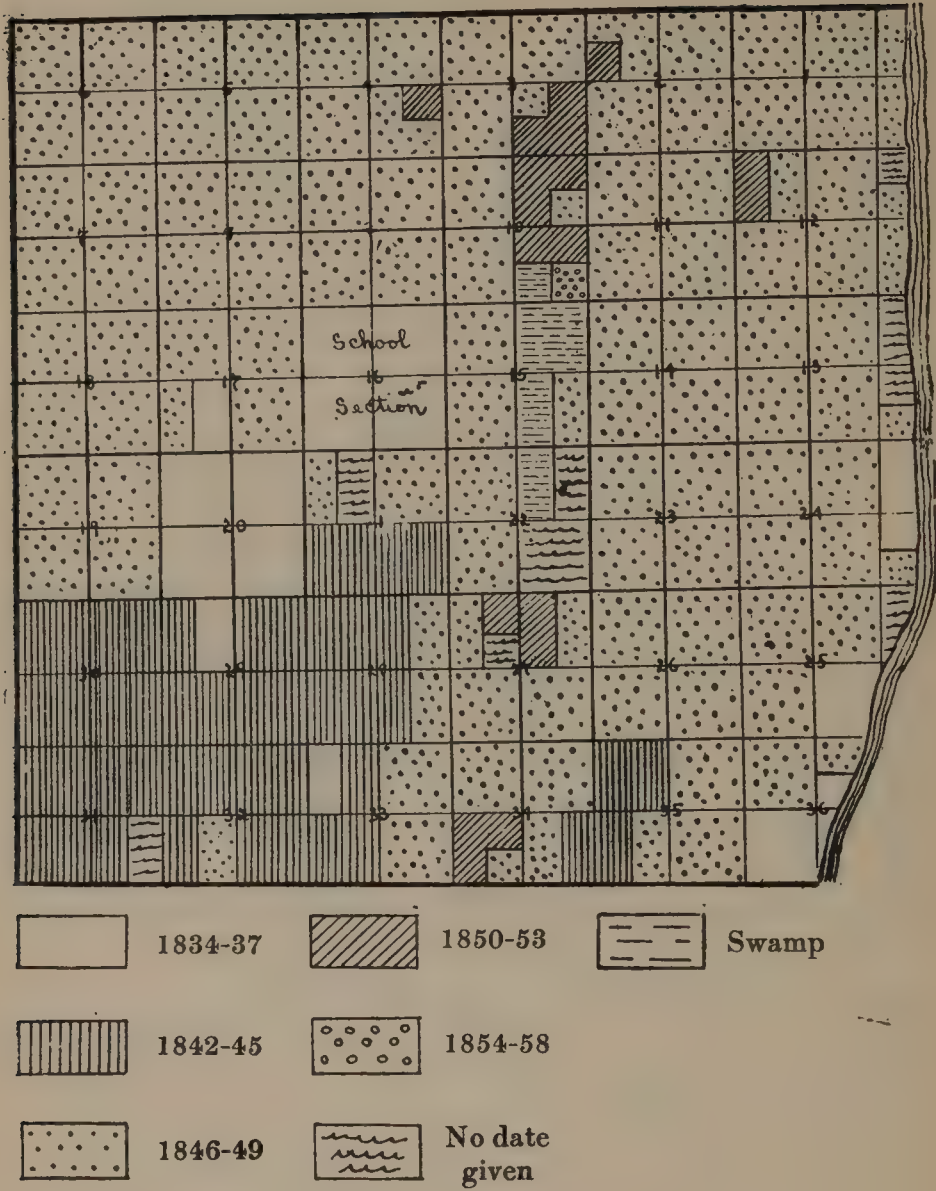


FIG. 31. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF BELGIUM
OZAUKEE COUNTY

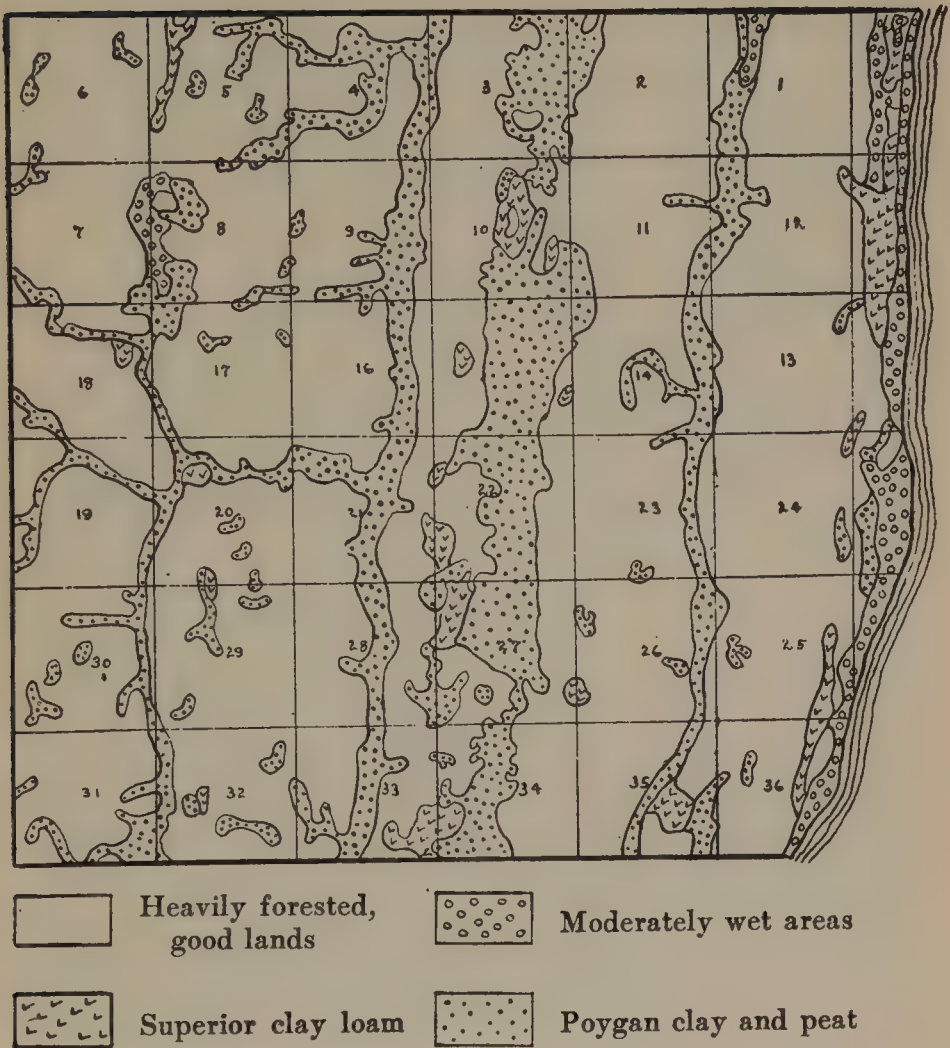


FIG. 32. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF BELGIUM, OZAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

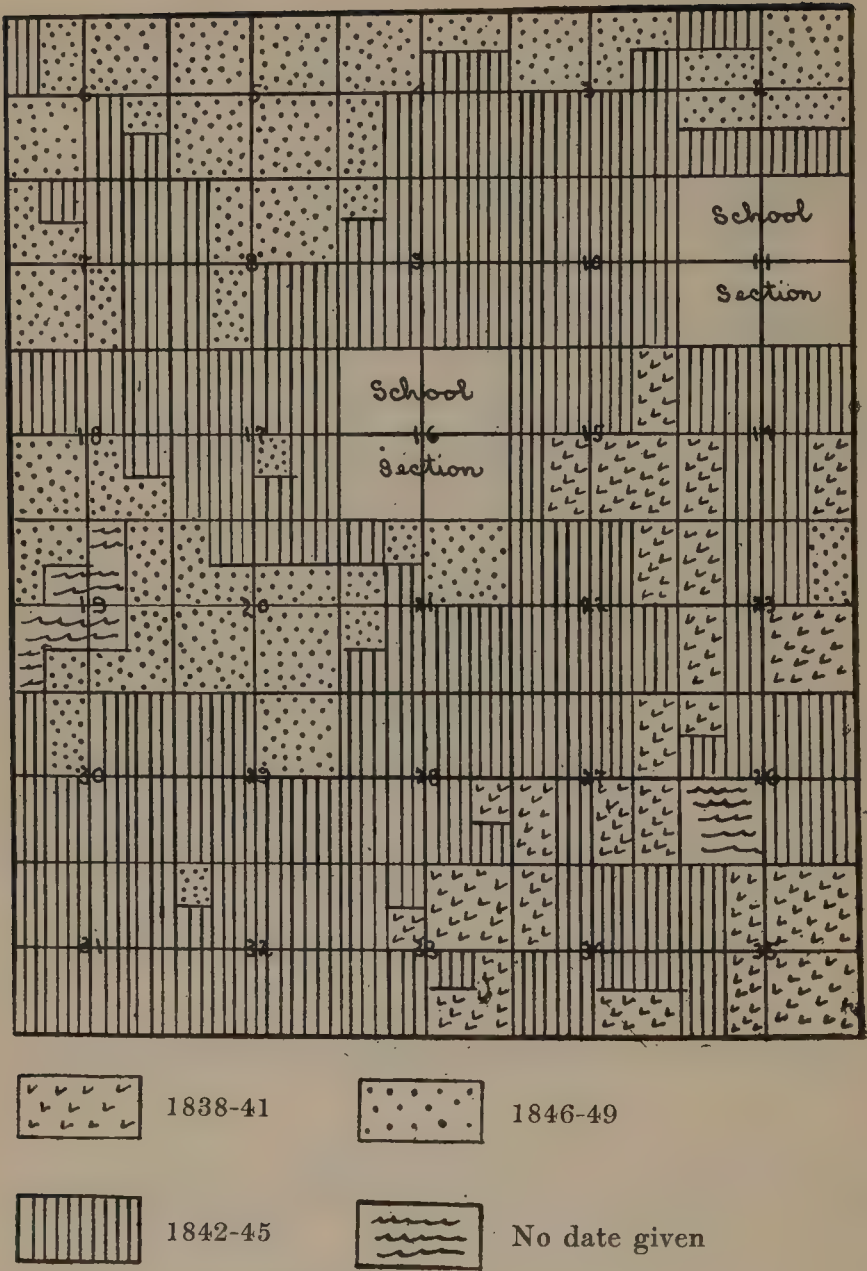


FIG. 33. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF CEDARBURG
OZAUKEE COUNTY



FIG. 34. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF CEDARBURG, OZAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

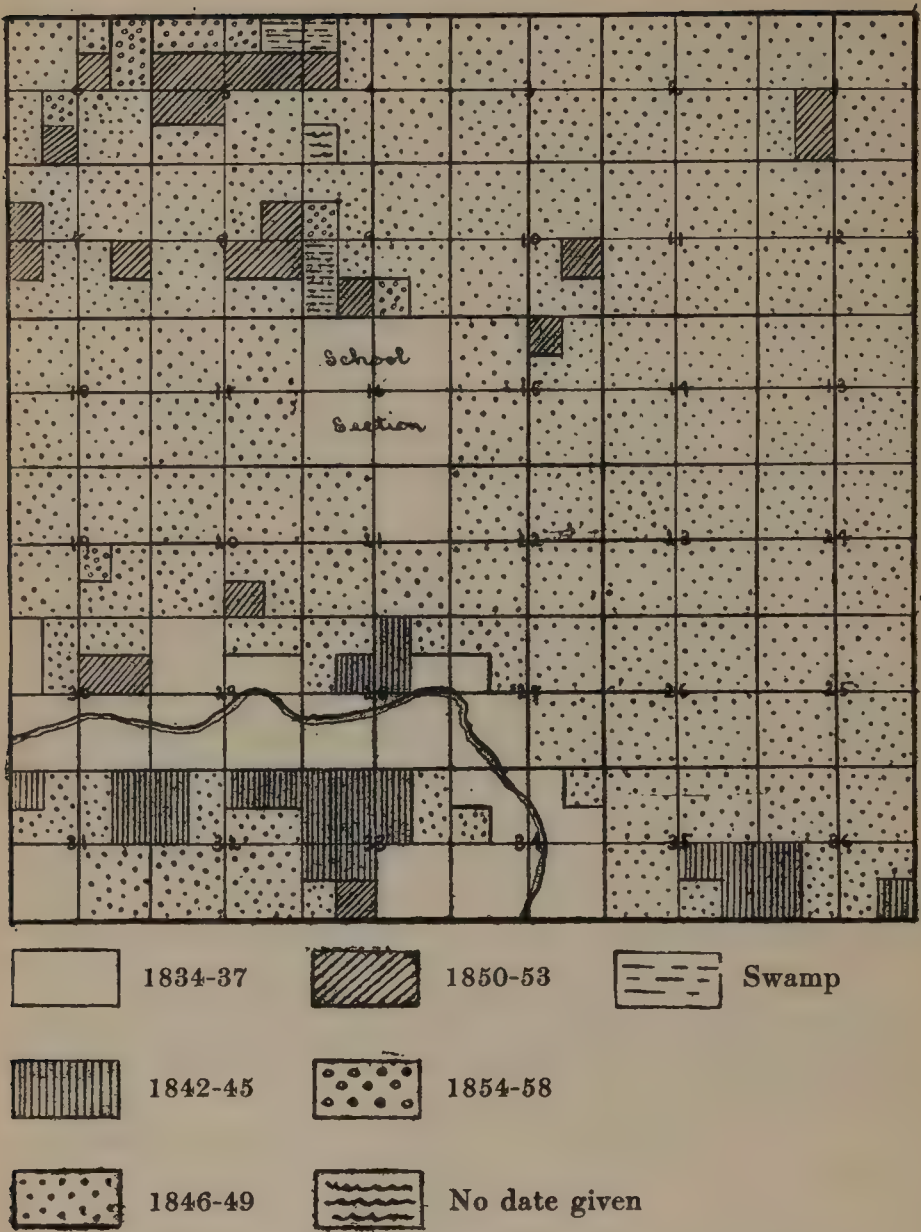


FIG. 35. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF FREDONIA
OZAUKEE COUNTY

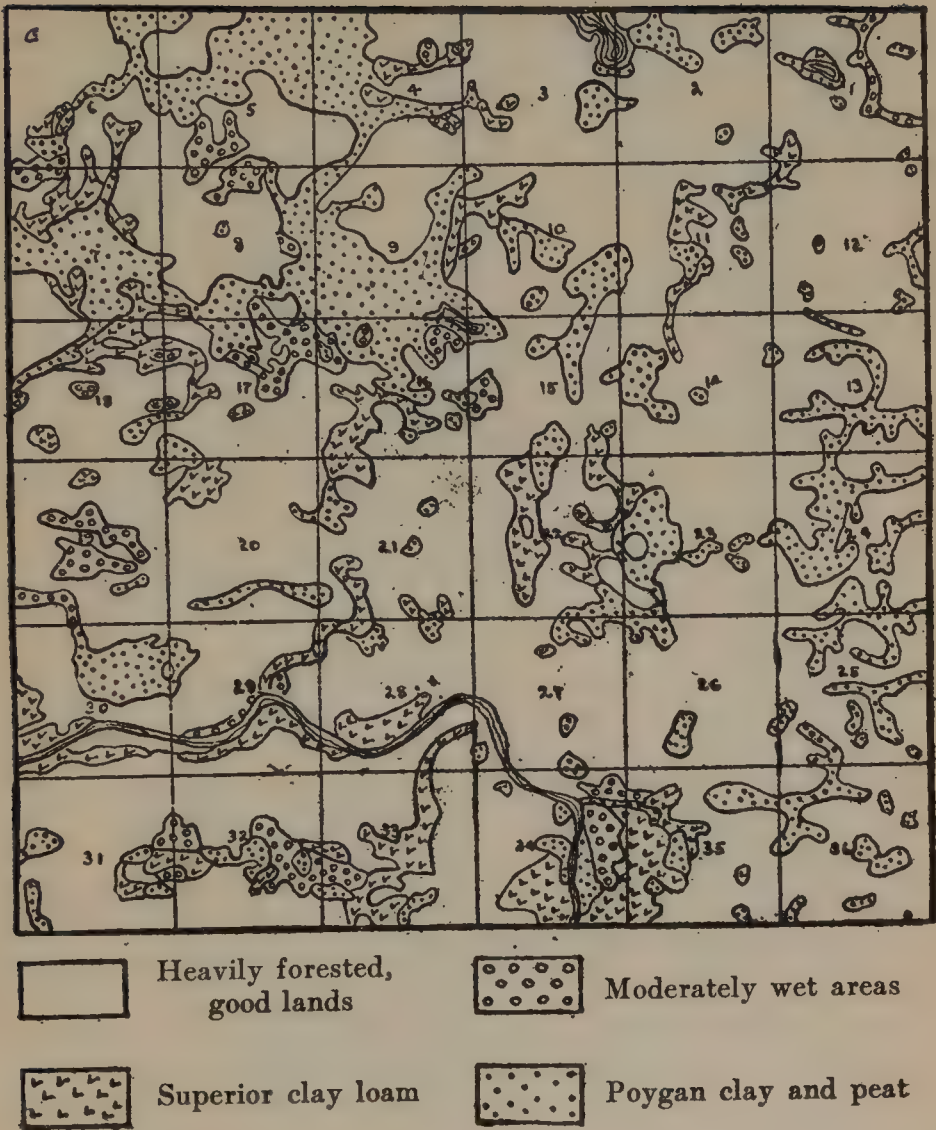


FIG. 36. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF FREDONIA, OZAUXEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

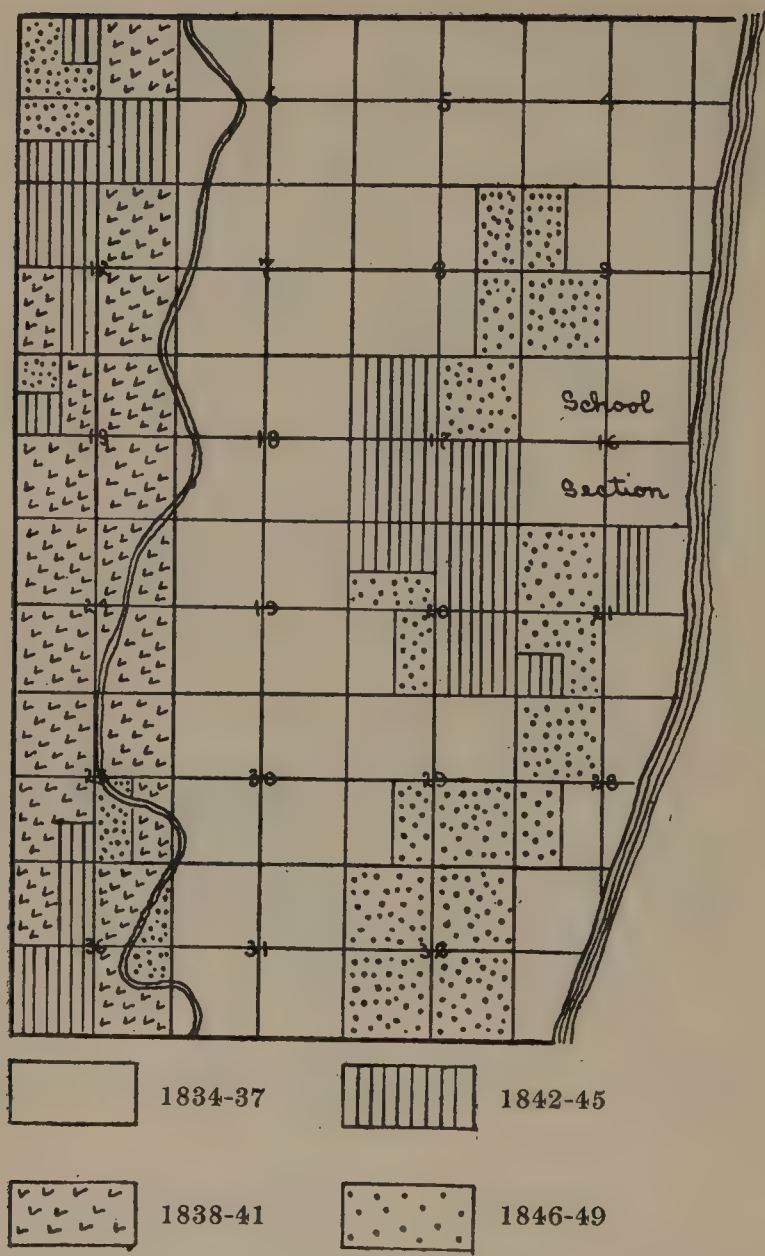


FIG. 37. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF GRAFTON
OZAUKEE COUNTY



FIG. 38. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF GRAFTON, OZAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

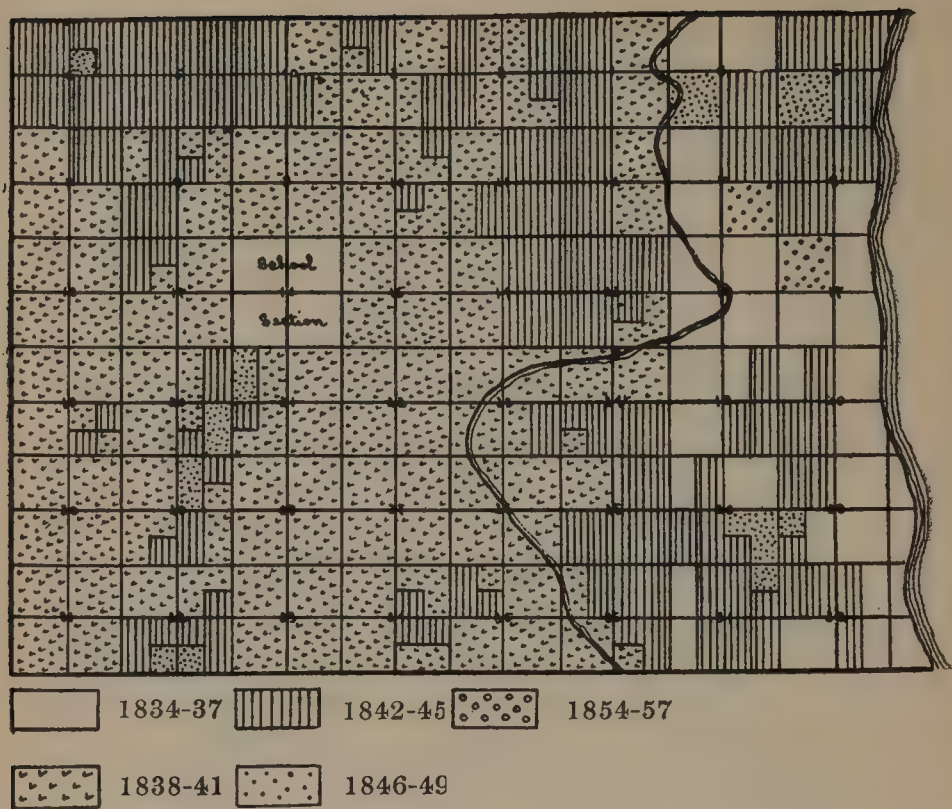


FIG. 39. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF MEQUON
OZAUKEE COUNTY

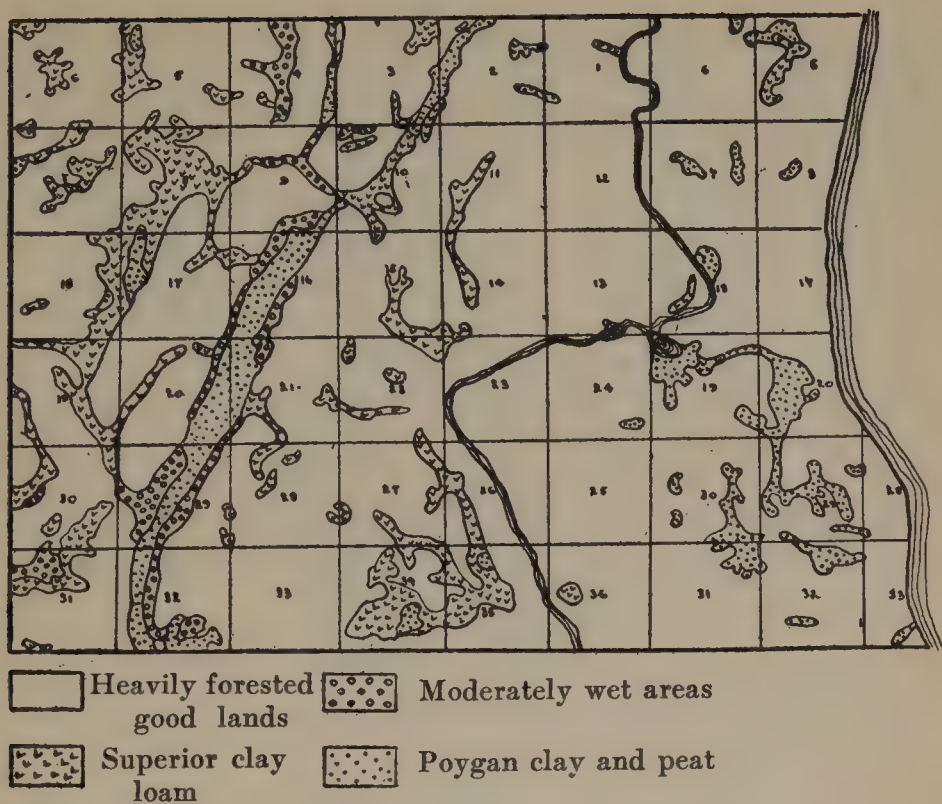


FIG. 40. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF MEQUON, OZAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

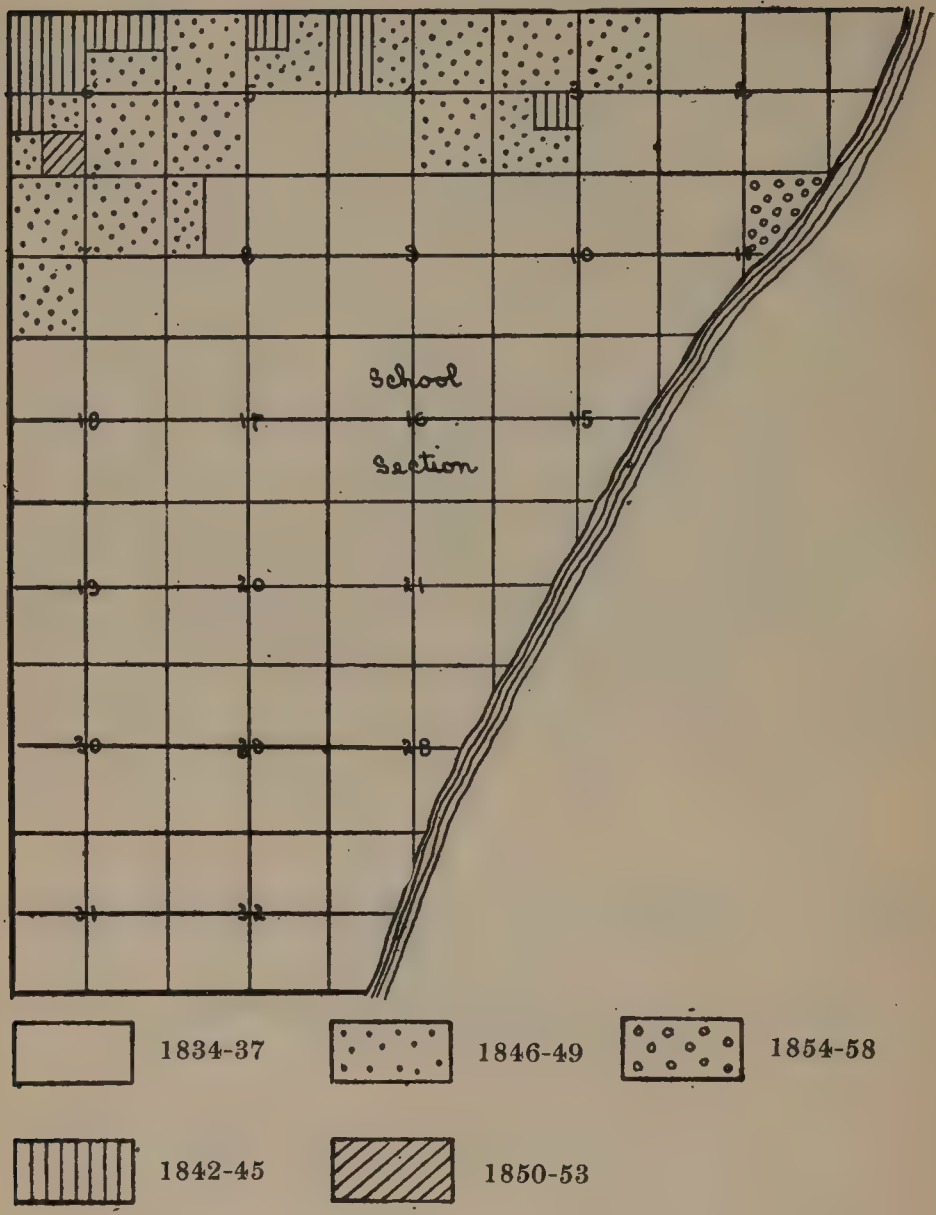


FIG. 41. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF PORT WASHINGTON, OZAUKEE COUNTY

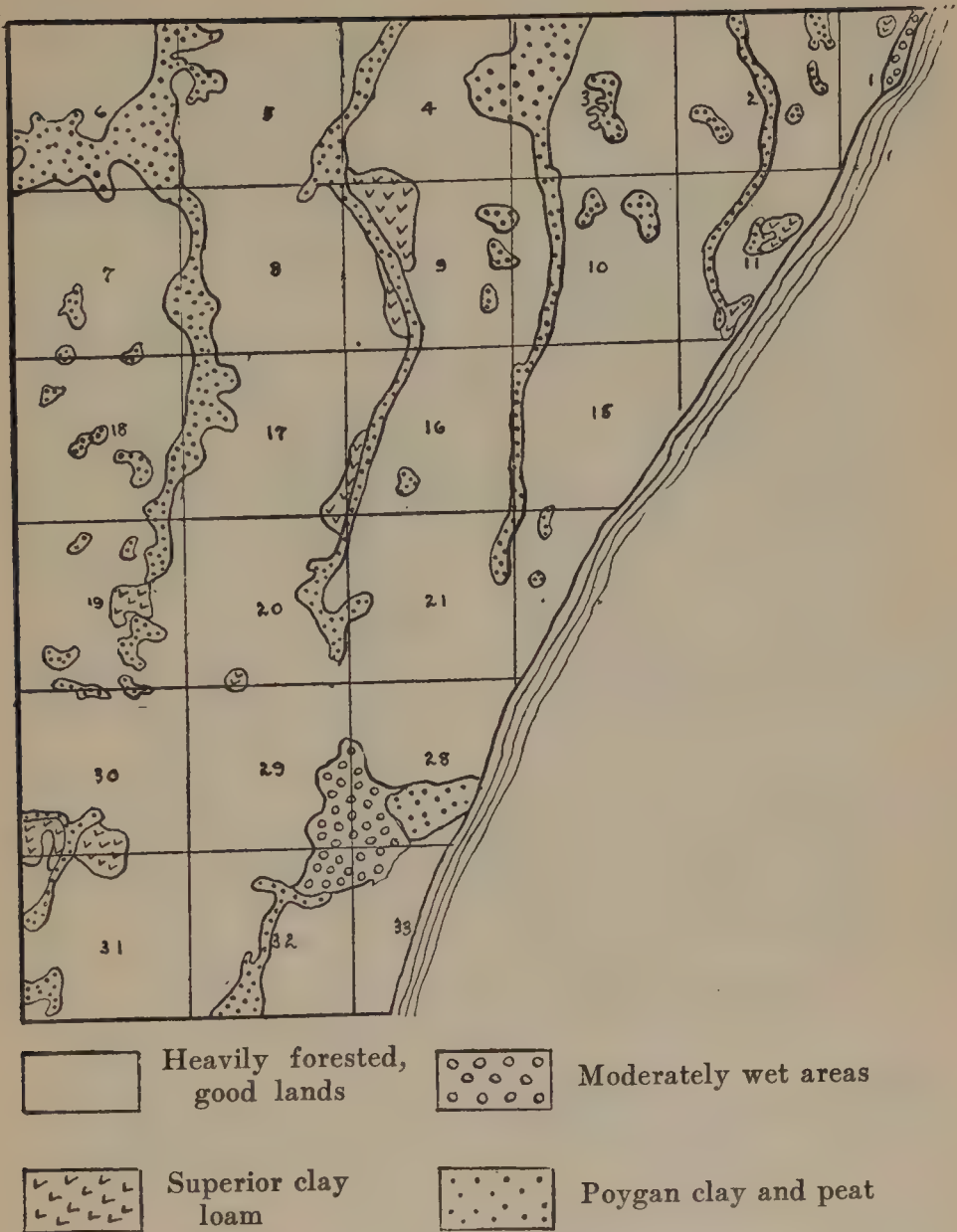


FIG. 42. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF PORT WASHINGTON
OZAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and
Natural History Survey

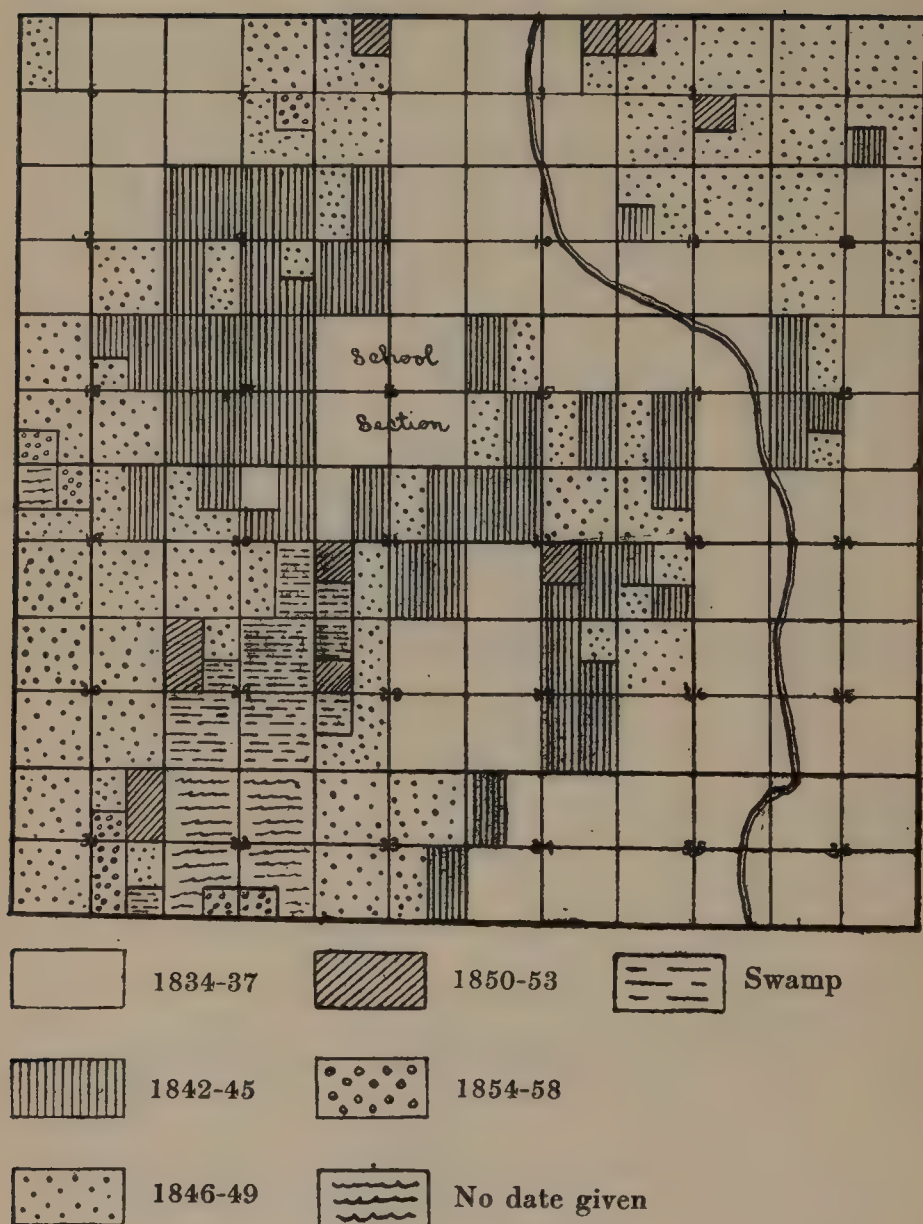


FIG. 43. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF SAUKVILLE
OZAUKEE COUNTY

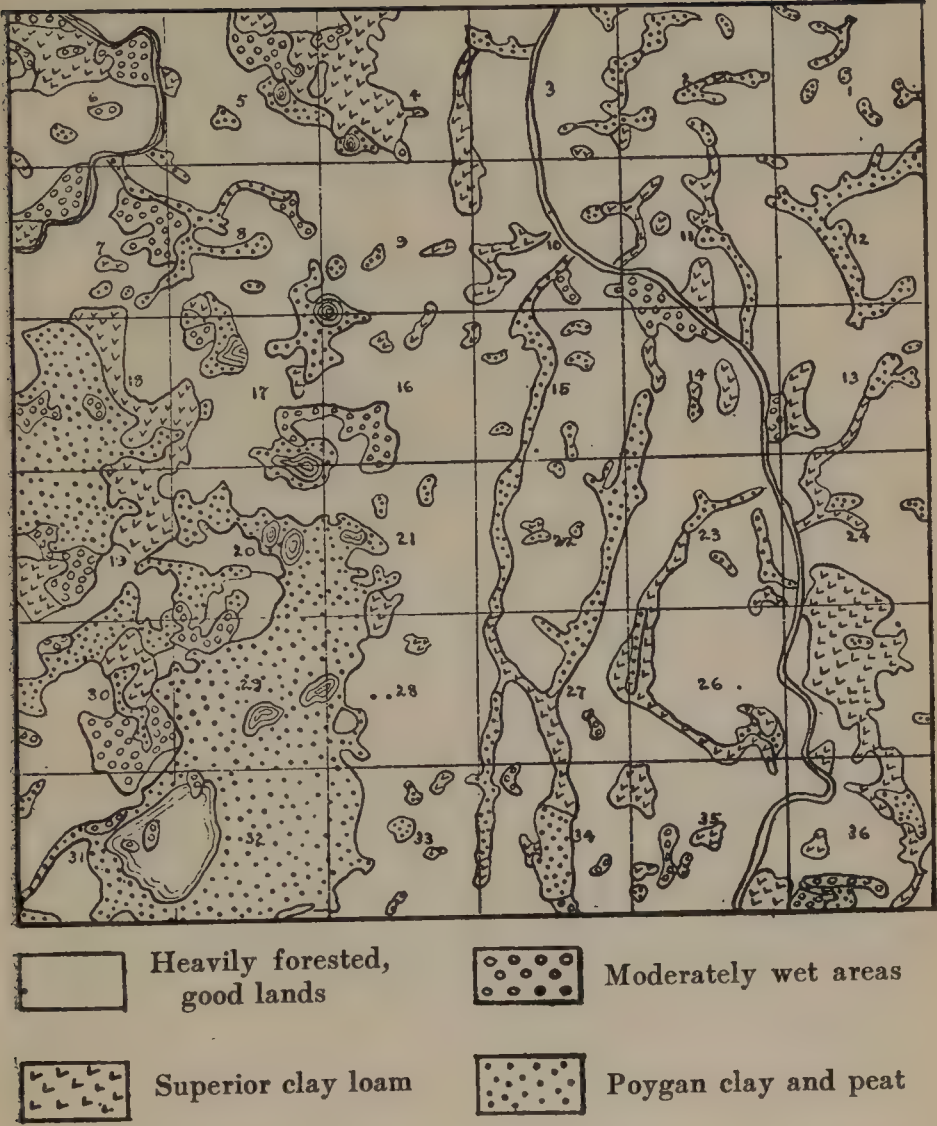


FIG. 44. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF SAUKVILLE, OZAUKEE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

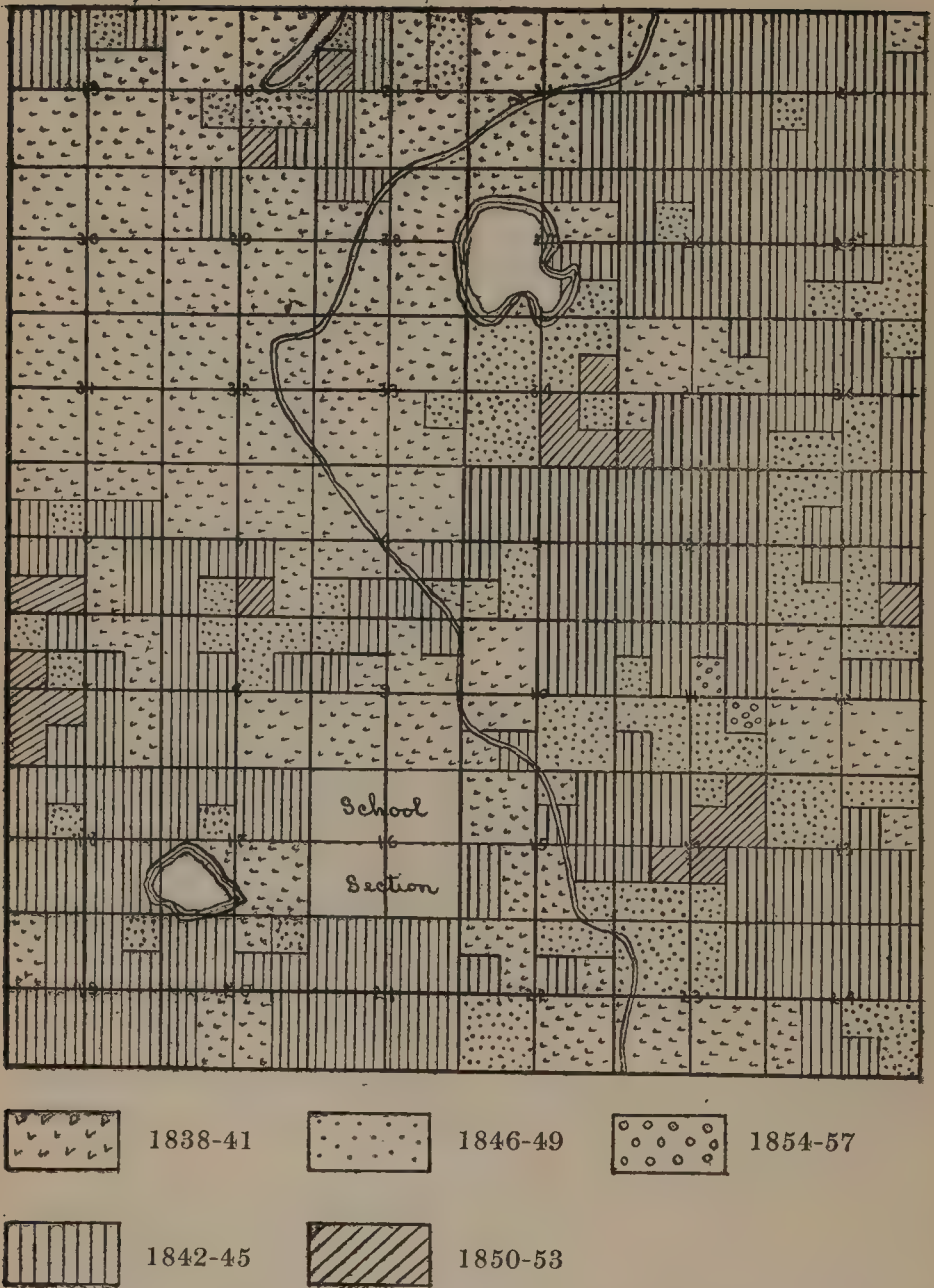


FIG. 45. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF BURLINGTON
RACINE COUNTY



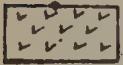
Prairie soils



Peat and muck

First-class wooded
lands

Moderately wet areas



Sandy areas

FIG. 46. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF BURLINGTON, RACINE
COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and
Natural History Survey

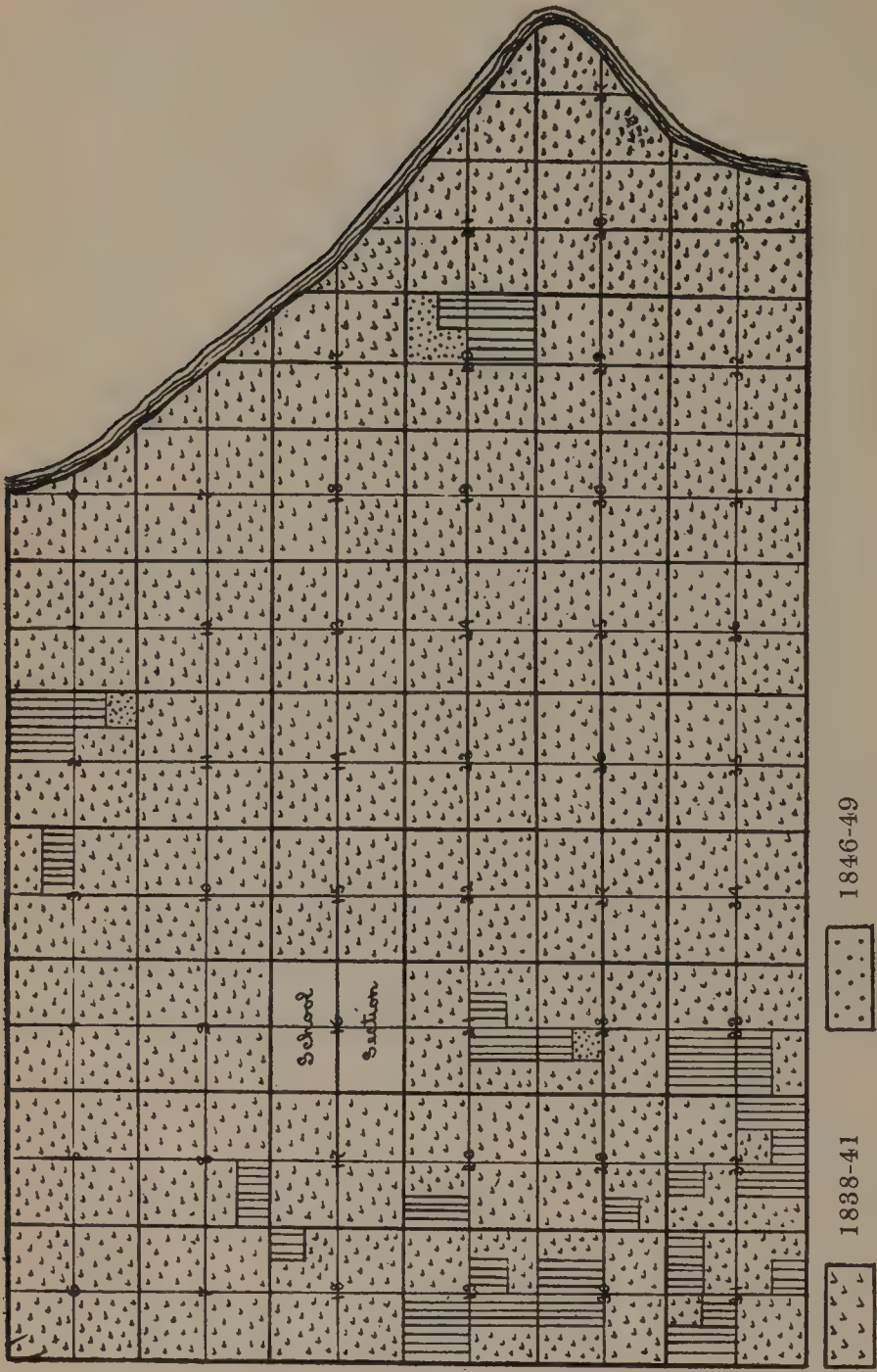


FIG. 47. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF CALEDONIA, RACINE COUNTY

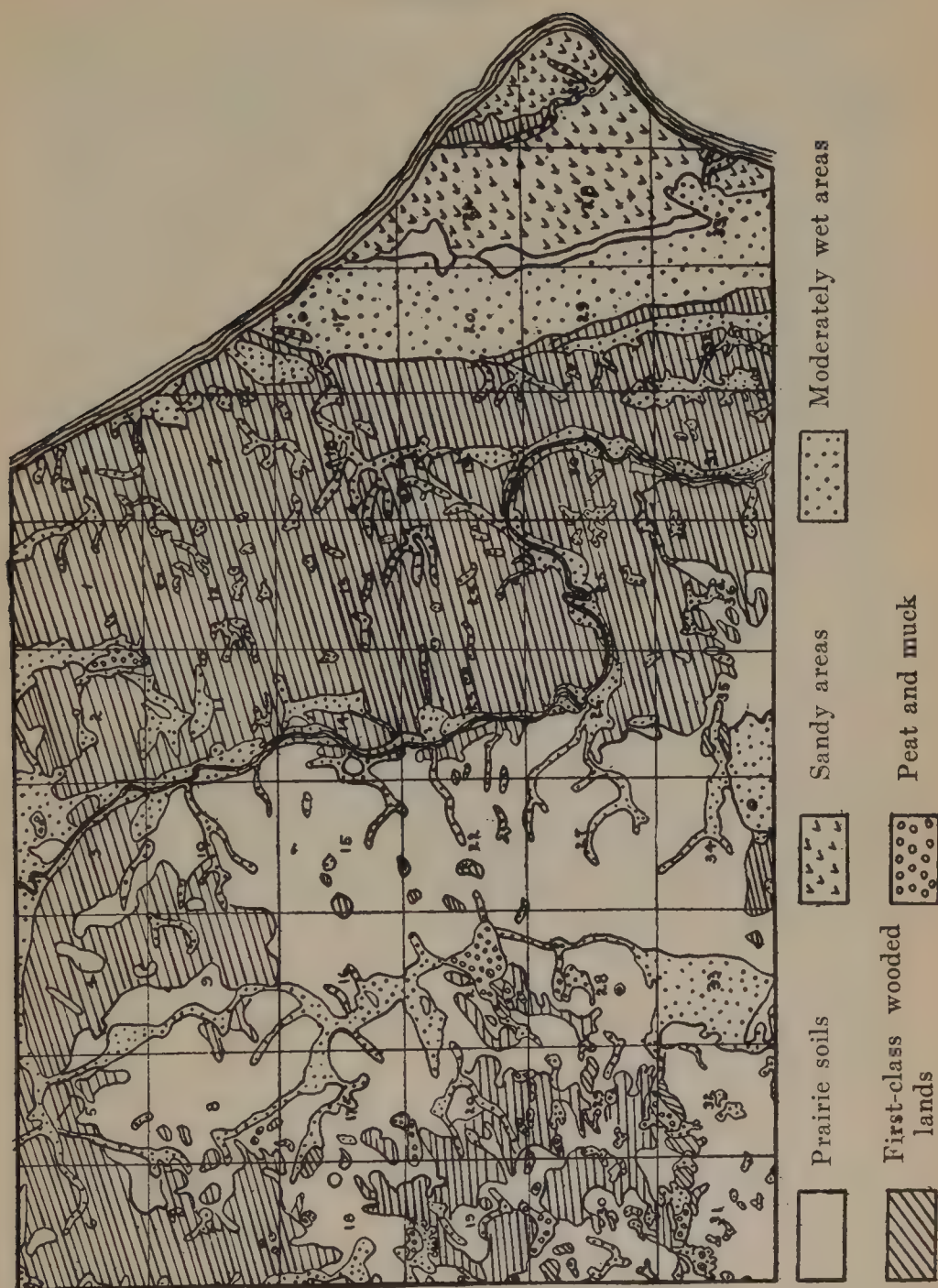


FIG. 48. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF CALEDONIA, RACINE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

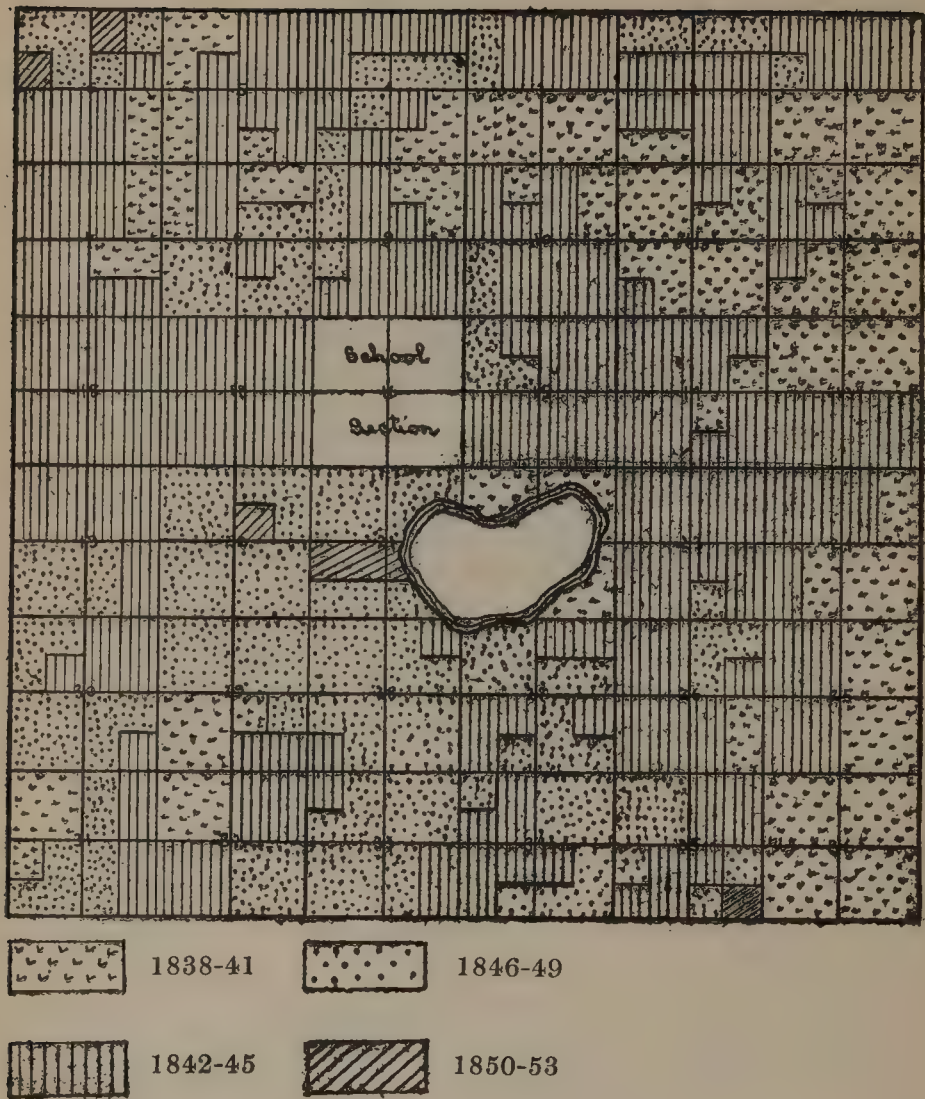


FIG. 49. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF DOVER, RACINE COUNTY

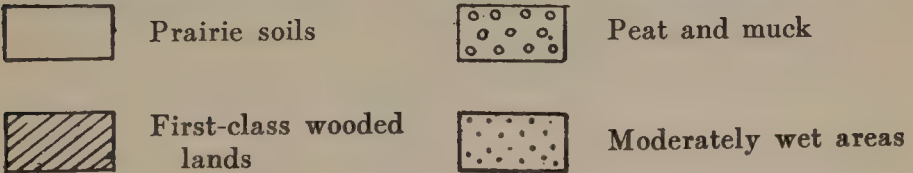
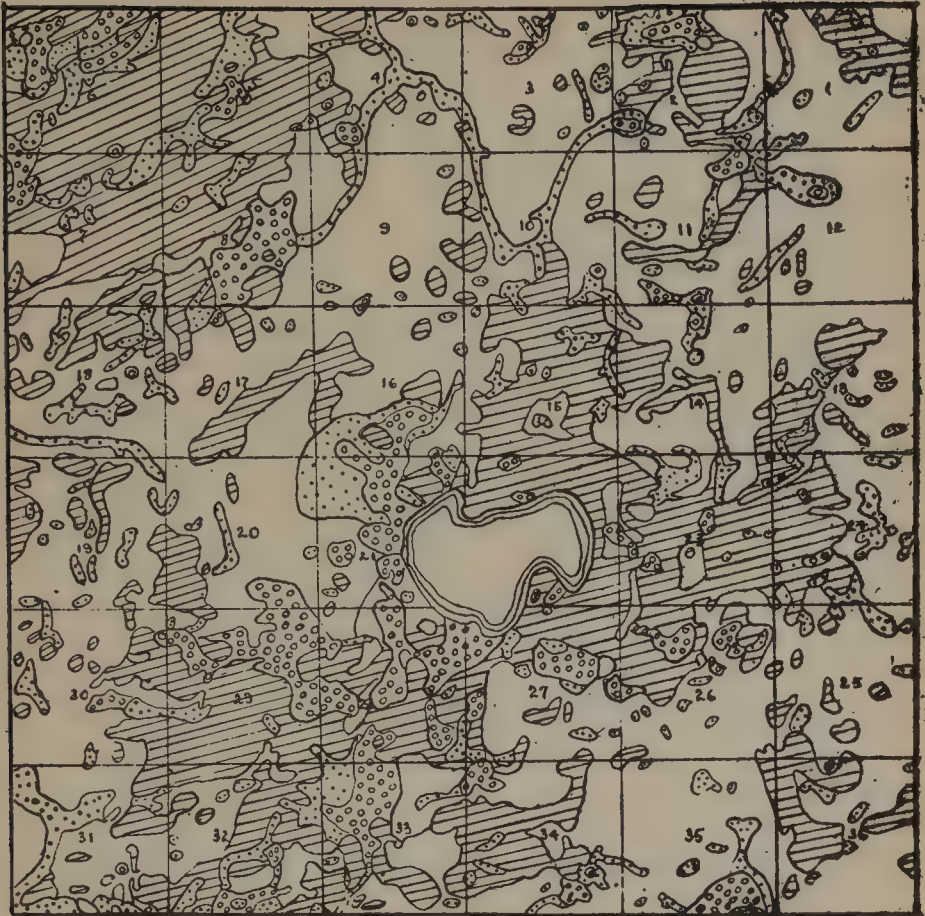


FIG. 50. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF DOVER, RACINE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

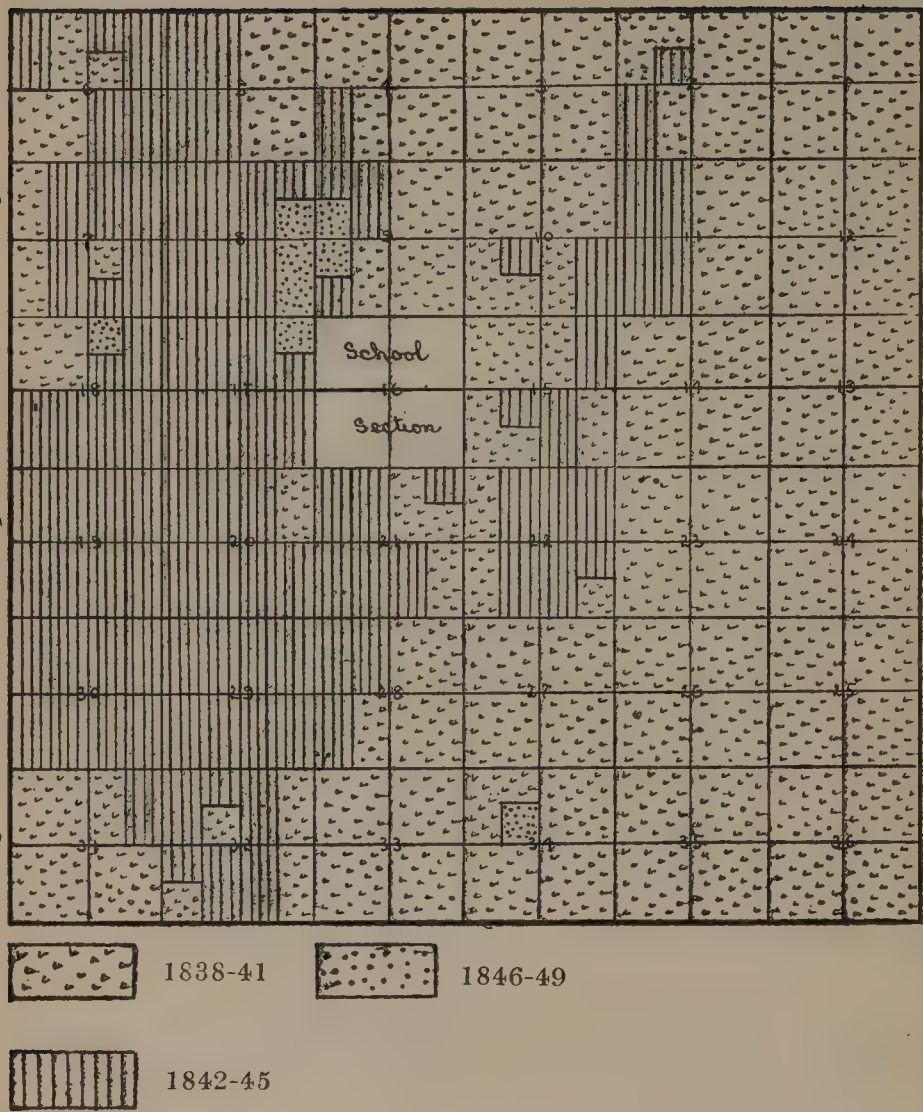


FIG. 51. LAND ENTRIES, T3, R22E, TOWN OF MOUNT PLEASANT, RACINE COUNTY

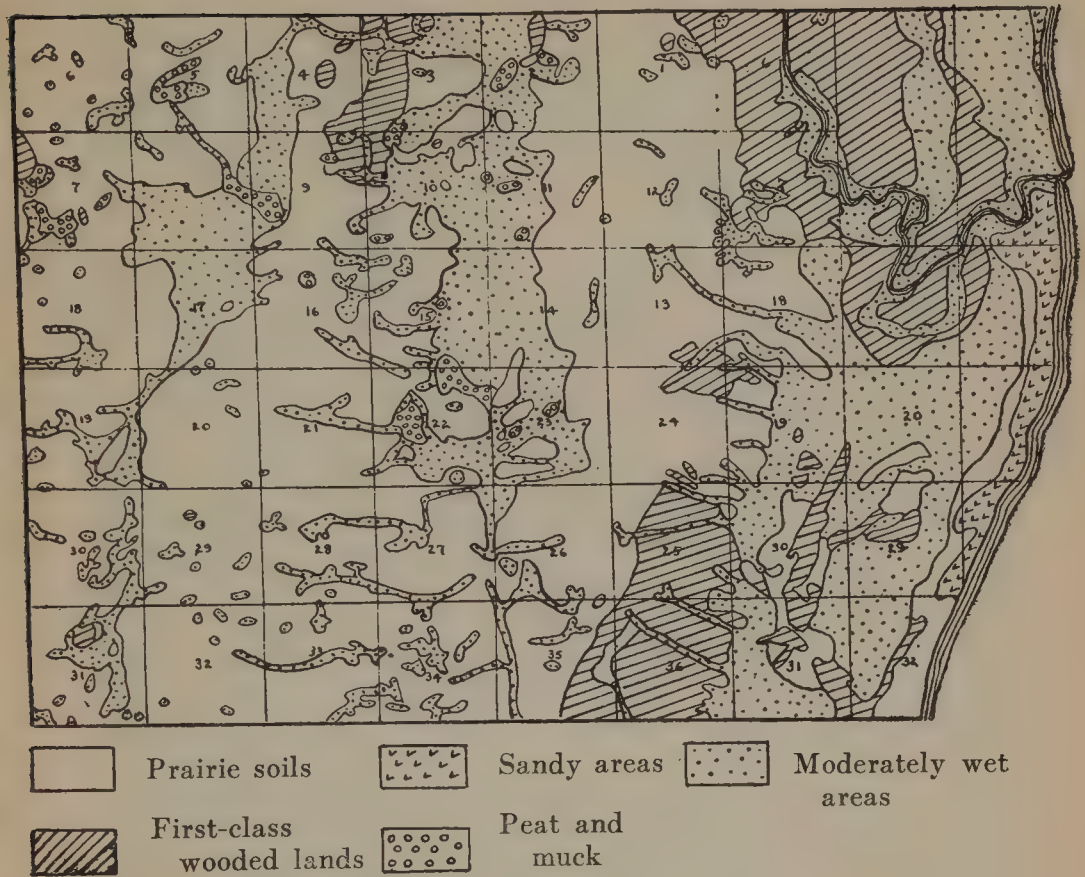


FIG. 52. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF MOUNT PLEASANT
RACINE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

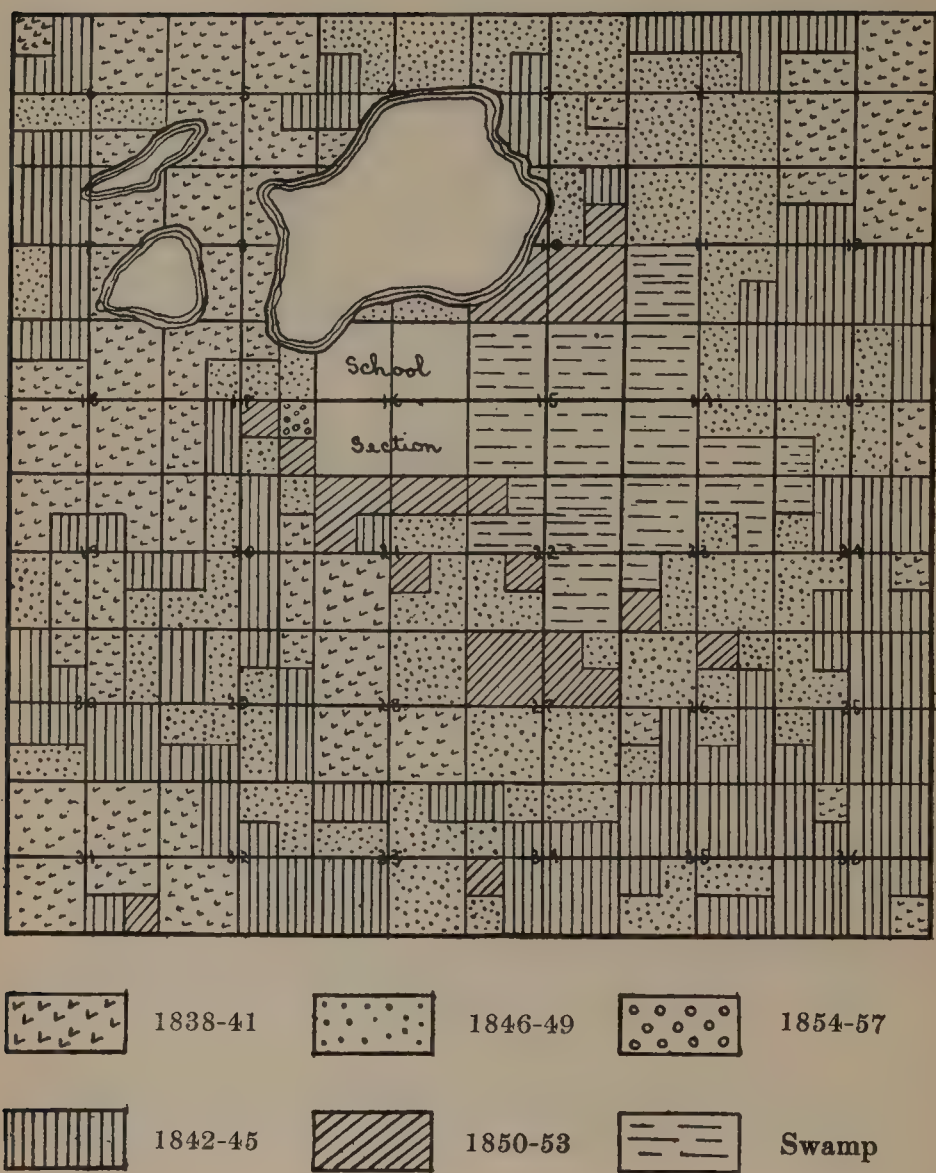


FIG. 53. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF NORWAY
RACINE COUNTY

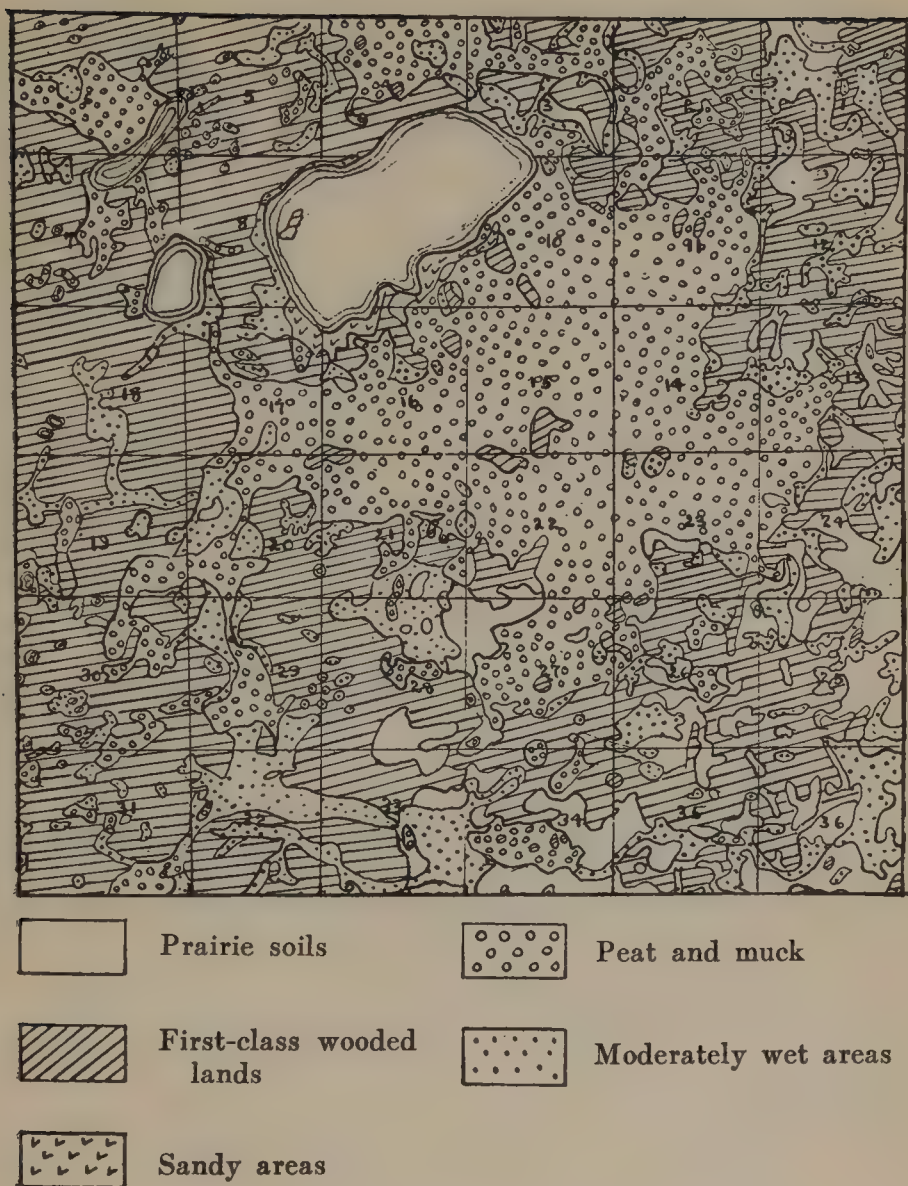


FIG. 54. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF NORWAY, RACINE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

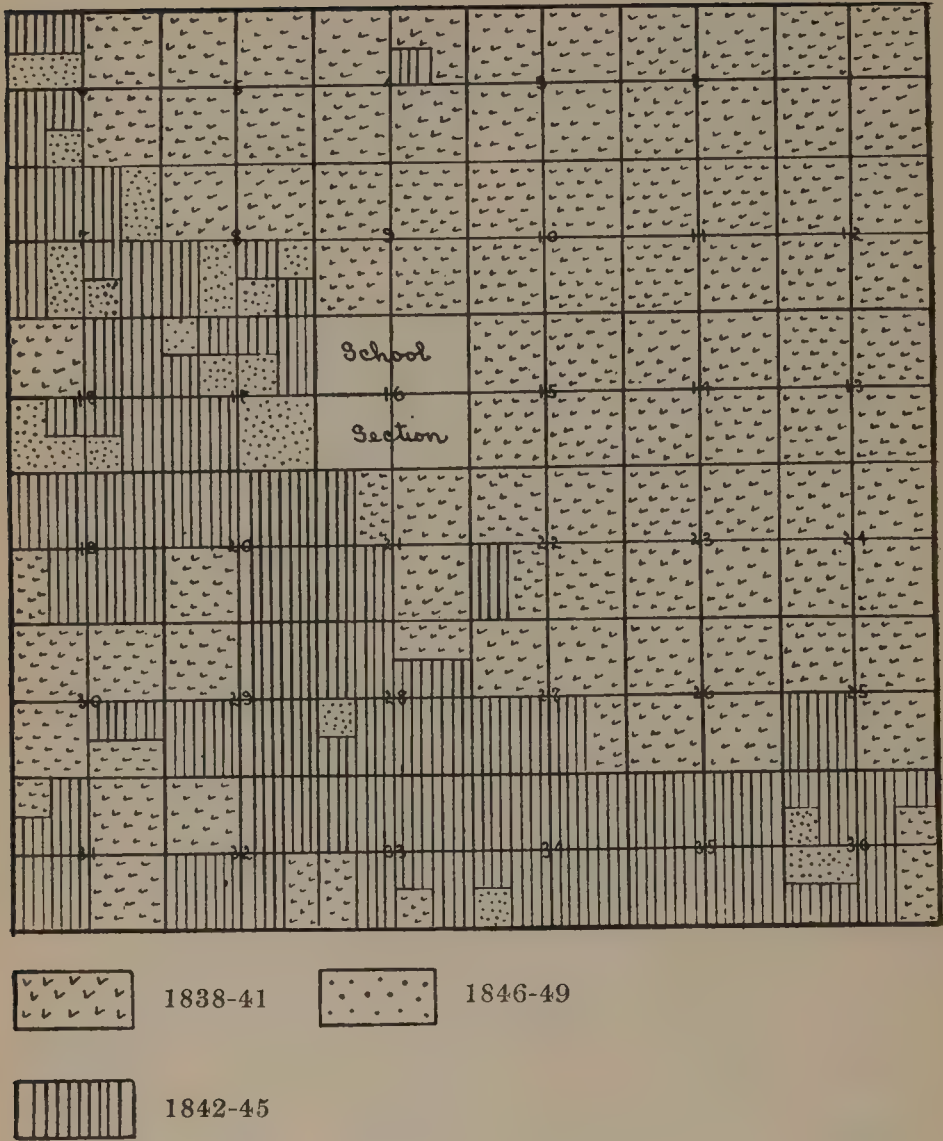


FIG. 55. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF RAYMOND
RACINE COUNTY

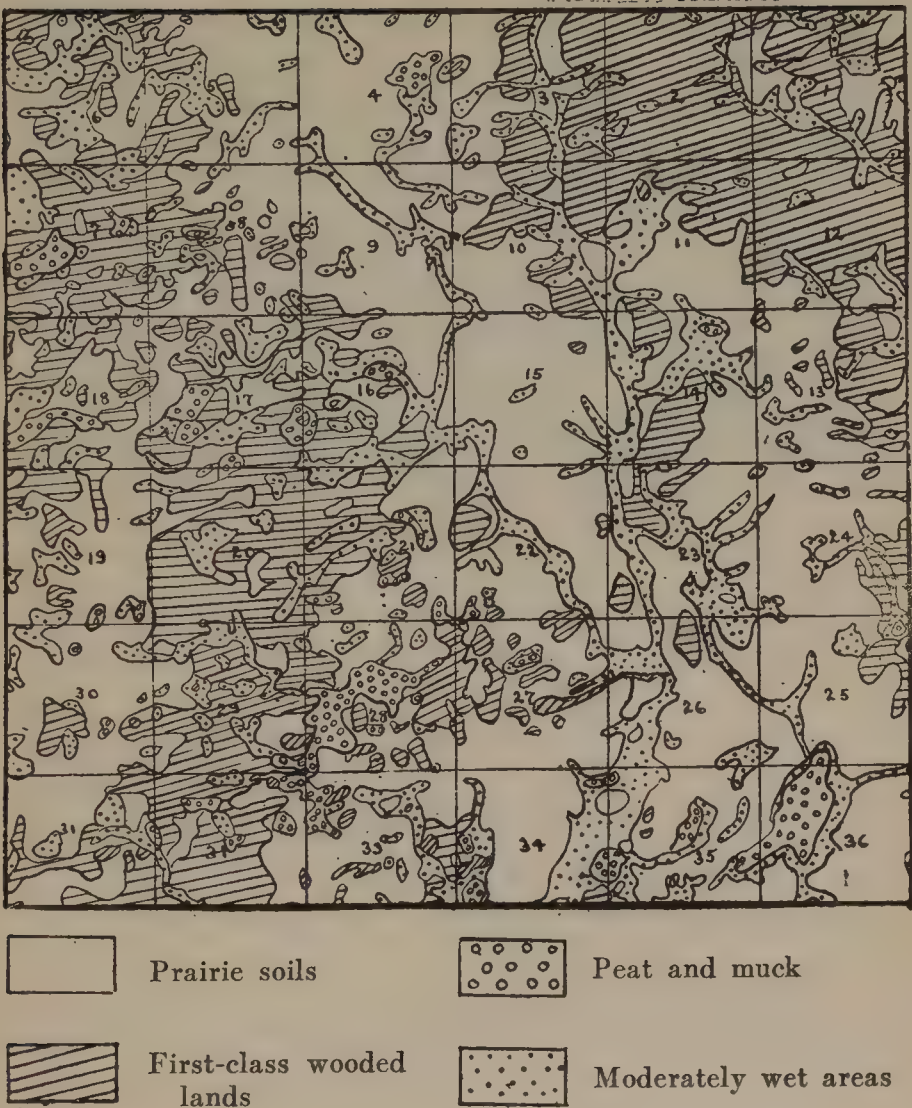


FIG. 56. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF RAYMOND, RACINE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

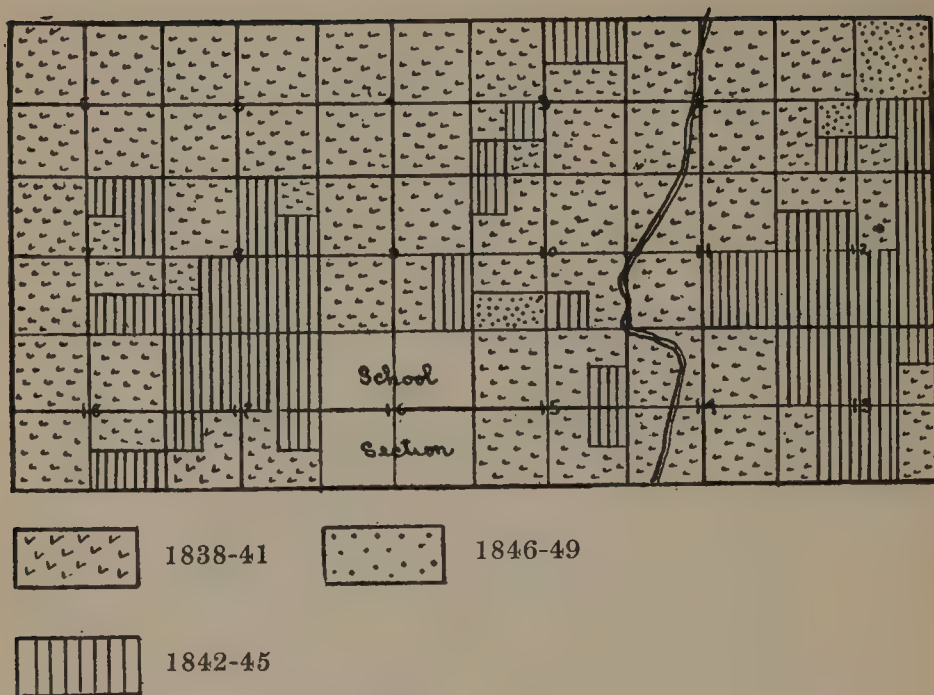


FIG. 57. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF ROCHESTER
RACINE COUNTY

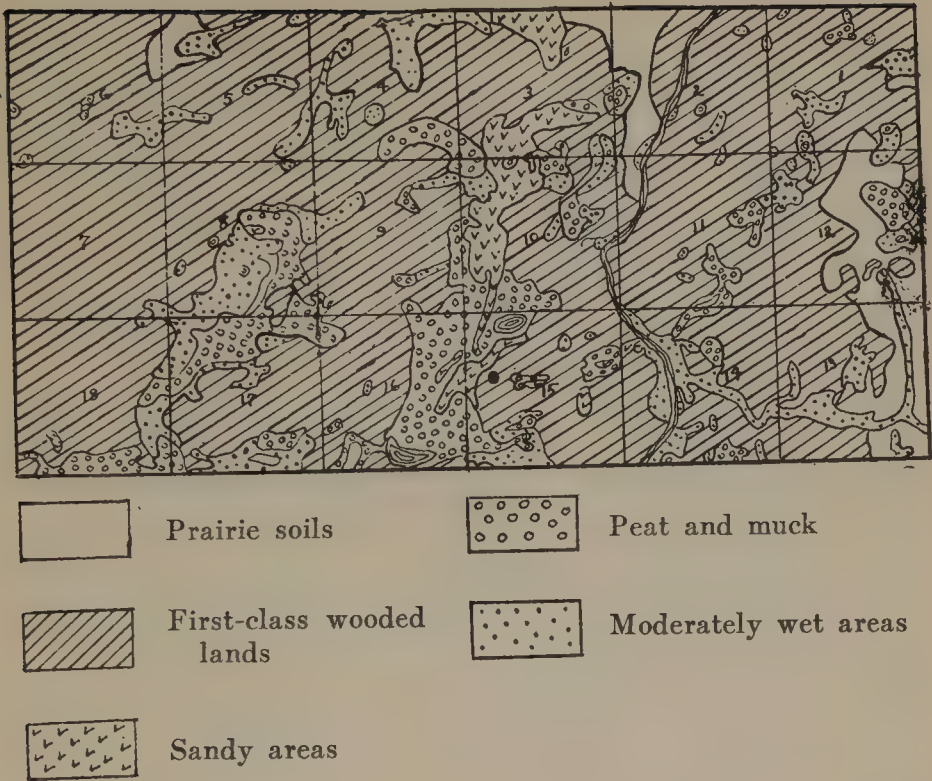


FIG. 58. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF ROCHESTER, RACINE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

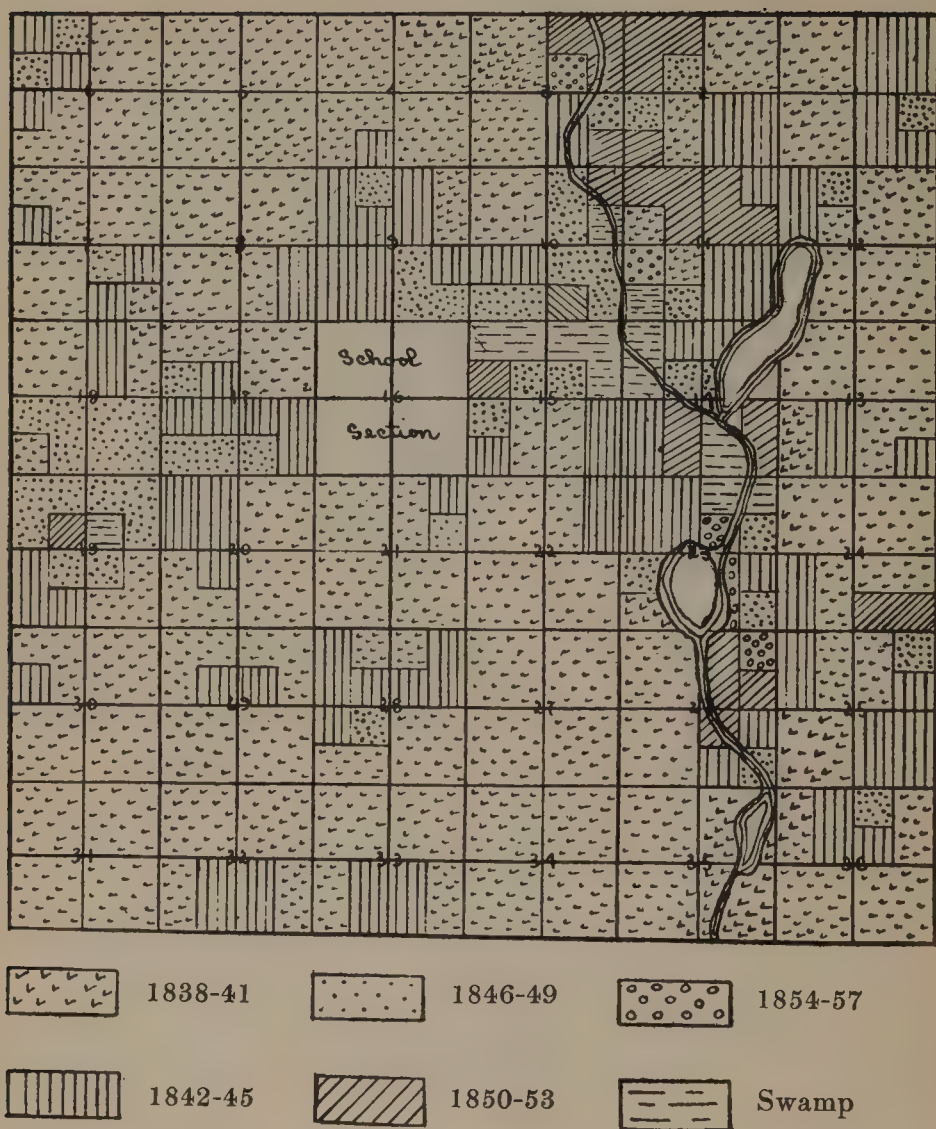


FIG. 59. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF WATERFORD
RACINE COUNTY

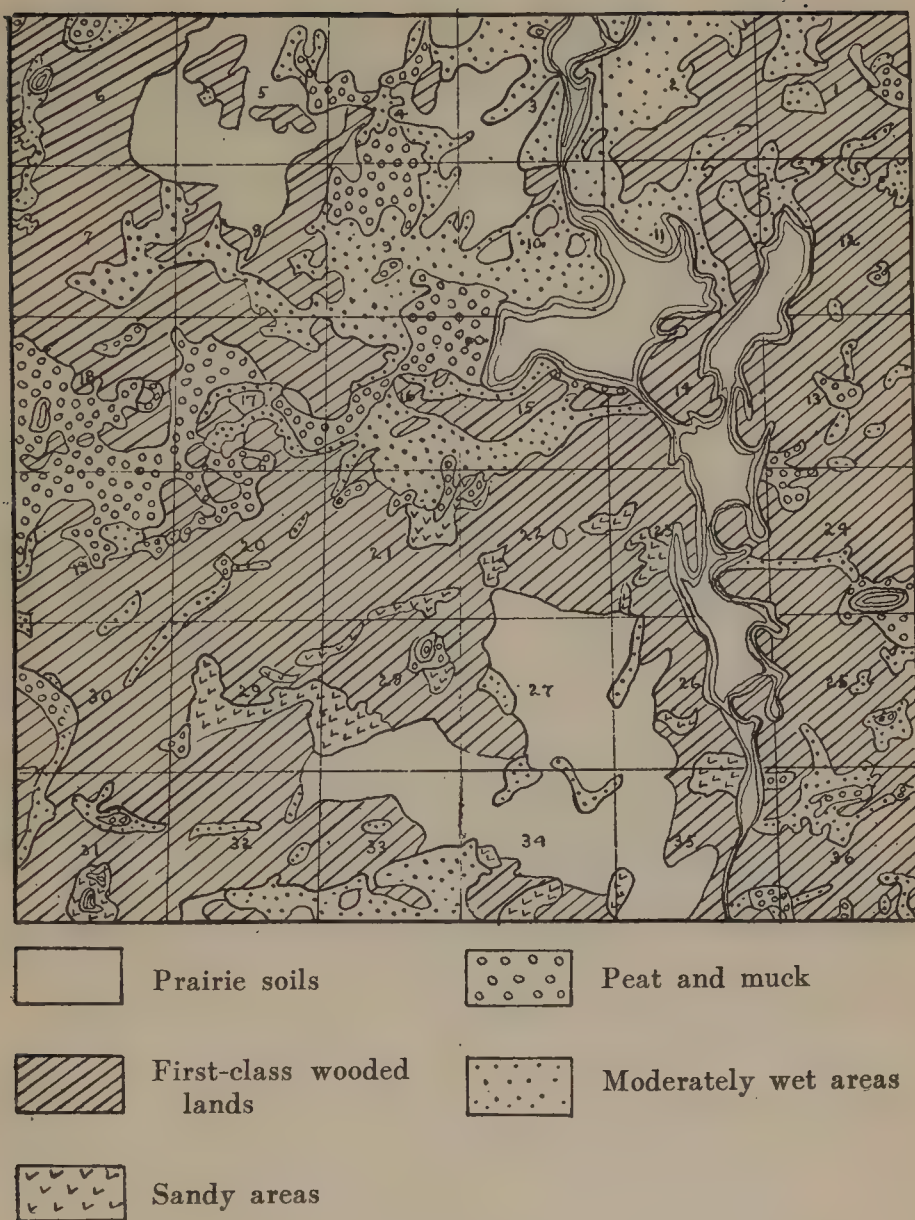


FIG. 60. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF WATERFORD, RACINE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

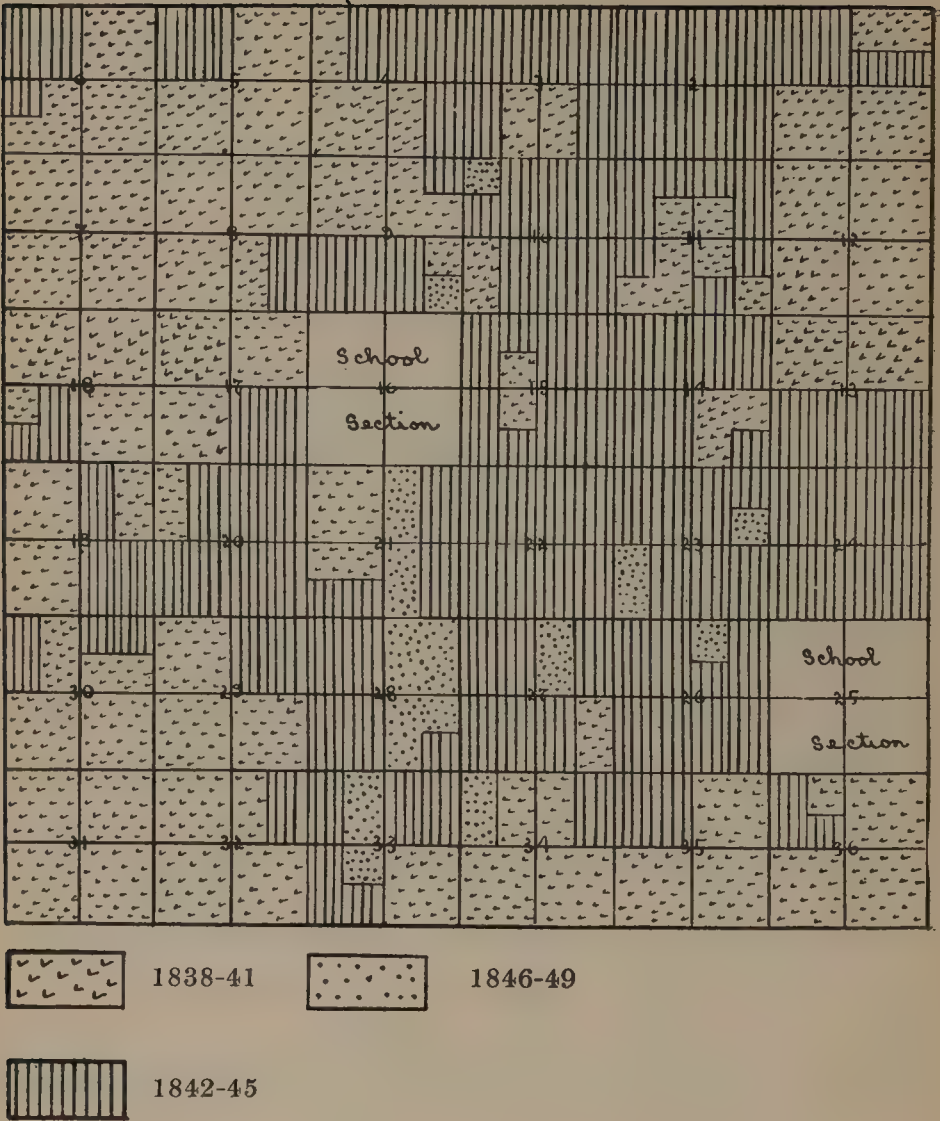


FIG. 61. LAND ENTRIES, TOWN OF YORKVILLE
RACINE COUNTY

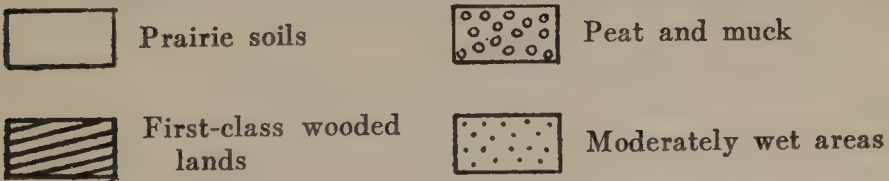


FIG. 62. SOIL MAP, TOWN OF YORKVILLE, RACINE COUNTY

Prepared from map made by the Soils Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey

CORRELATION BETWEEN ELECTION RETURNS 1856 AND 1860, AND

TOWN OR CITY	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION						HEADS OF FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH (Upper, 1860; lower, 1870)											
	1856			1860			United States	England and Scotland	Ireland	Germany	Bavaria	Prussia	Saxony	Mecklenburg	Württemberg	Baden	Nassau	Hanover
	Fremont	Buchanan	Majority	Lincoln	Douglas	Majority												
Brighton	55	106 D	51	91	134 D	43	26	49	60	...	1	62	...	2	...	...	...	1
Bristol	182	70 R	112	188	17 R	171	170	8	32	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	1
Paris	132	67 R	65	130	76 R	54	64	31	26	5	1	18	2	1	...	6	...	...
Pleasant Prairie..	159	96 R	63	175	106 R	69	94	40	51	1	1	46	...	1	2	1	...	2
Randall .....	...	...	...	88	44 R	44	79	13	12	1	...	32	1	1	3	...	...	4
Salem	198	30 R	168	215	84 R	131	163	35	52	...	...	11	1	1	...	1	...	1
Somers	175	41 R	134	203	38 R	165	96	46	19	2	...	32	1	1	1	2	2	...
Wheatland	140	103 R	37	70	81 D	11	58	8	11	5	1	90	4	4	1	6	...	2
Kenosha City, 1st ward	181	130 R	51	176	100 R	73	138	33	79	3	1	11	1	...	3	...	...	3
Kenosha City, 2nd ward	110	104 R	6	54	112 D	58	12	12	11	11	7	23	1	...	1	4	4	1
Kenosha City, 3rd ward	176	84 R	92	113	36 R	75	16	16	36	2	...	61	6	2	2	7	...	2
Kenosha City, 4th ward	134	42 R	92	88	17	40	1	...	127	1

APPENDIX

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POPULATION ELEMENTS 1860 AND 1870, IN KENOSHA COUNTY

Town or City	HEADS OF FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH (Upper, 1860; lower, 1870)																	
	Hesse	Hamburg	Brunswick	Holstein	Bohemia	Luxemburg	Austria	Holland	Belgium	Scandinavia	Wales	France	Switzerland	Poland	Total	Americans, English, Scotch, Welsh, Scandinavians	Irish, Germans, other non-English speak- ing foreigners ex- cept Scandinavians	Unknown
Brighton	3	1						7				2			210	77	133	
Bristol						4	1	3				1		1	199	56	143	10
Paris	1						1	2							233	178	45	
Pleasant Prairie	5	7			2	3		8	1		13	1			236	180	56	
Randall						7					16	1			181	108	73	
										1	5	3			180	87	93	17
										1	5	1	1		233	134	82	
										1	1	1			242	125	117	
								1			1				117	92	16	9
											1				98	66	31	1
Salem												2	2		268	198	70	
Somers		1				2				3	4	1	1		271	188	83	
			1			1		2			1	2			219	142	67	10
	2							2	1		2	1	2		244	147	96	1
	5							2		4	1	1			203	66	136	1
Wheatland	5		3									3			160	31	129	
Kenosha City,	1					2		2		1	1	3			276	173	103	
1st ward	2					3		2		6		1			299	166	131	2
Kenosha City,	3					1		1				1			143	24	106	13
2nd ward	4		1	2	1	4	2					3			195	13	179	3
Kenosha City,						1						1			171	104	52	15
3rd ward	1					2				2		1			184	126	55	3
Kenosha City,	2	1								2		1			159	84	64	11
4th ward	3		3	2		2		1		3	1	1	2	1	141	78	62	1

CORRELATION BETWEEN ELECTION RETURNS 1856 AND 1860, AND POPULATION ELEMENTS
1860 AND 1870, IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY

TOWN OR CITY	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION						HEADS OF FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH (Upper, 1860; lower, 1870)												
	1856			1860			United States	England and Scotland	Ireland	Germany	Bavaria	Prussia	Saxony	Mecklenburg	Württemberg	Baden	Nassau	Hanover	Hesse
	Fremont	Buchanan	Majority	Lincoln	Douglas	Majority													
Franklin	32	202	D170	67	256	D 189	15	9	81	11	24	81	3	16	1	7	4	4	14
Granville	87	302	D215	143	330	D 187	25	8	58	11	19	106	3	36	2	3	2	7	11
Greenfield	92	297	D205	143	335	D 192	82	4	84	5	42	122	27	20	12	8	7	13	15
Lake	129	195	D 66	160	188	D 27	73	13	54	6	38	147	19	32	9	2	7	14	13
Milwaukee	34	229	D195	102	295	D 193	52	19	73	27	32	103	8	35	28	8	3	25	20
Oak Creek	78	282	D204	155	253	D 98	63	16	49	14	30	122	9	59	8	7	3	28	18
Wauwatosa	215	298	D 83	257	361	D 106	64	18	17	17	17	151	6	25	3	12	3	13	12
							60	40	37	7	8	134	11	43	5	12	...	7	9
							15	7	5	9	31	153	61	107	10	18	2	18	16
							25	6	5	35	25	172	46	216	14	16	2	12	15
							45	25	68		11	164	18	3	10	20	2	16	14
							26	15	34		15	120	12	24	3	8	1	6	8
							178	41	57	3	28	111	15	51	10	6	18	12	24
							154	32	41	13	26	158	11	68	6	9	20	7	21

CORRELATION BETWEEN ELECTION RETURNS 1856 AND 1860, AND POPULATION ELEMENTS
1860 AND 1870, IN OZAUKEE COUNTY

TOWN OR CITY	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION						HEADS OF FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH (Upper, 1860; lower, 1870)													
	1856			1860			United States	England and Scotland	Ireland	Germany	Bavaria	Prussia	Saxony	Mecklenburg	Württemberg	Baden	Nassau	Hanover	Hesse	
	Fremont	Buchanan	Majority	Lincoln	Douglas	Majority														
Belgium	1	348	D347	114	259	D 145	7	....	....	10	15	64	1	...	3	....	....	....	2	...
Cedarburg	3	374	D371	7	299	D 295	3	1	111	12	9	122	22	23	6	4	2	....	26	12
Fredonia	27	188	D161	47	206	D 259	35	7	92	....	46	50	25	22	5	1	10	....	22	16
Grafton	116	229	D113	105	210	D 105	46	15	33	....	15	86	35	...	1	....	....	....	2	...
Mequon	61	397	D386	141	314	D 173	19	14	31	1	38	106	28	12	7	2	....	16	6	
Port Washington..	121	273	D152	171	312	D 146	20	11	25	21	35	243	92	26	5	5	3	....	29	28
Saukville	31	223	D192	42	223	D 181	95	25	32	....	23	62	25	5	14	4	3	....	20	20
							50	8	18	1	22	107	31	...	4	6	....	....	3	9
							26	11	76	....	19	55	21	5	9	3	5	....	8	10
							19	7	53	1	26	123	20	...	6	1	1	....	2	42

CORRELATION BETWEEN ELECTION RETURNS 1856 AND 1860, AND POPULATION ELEMENTS
1860 AND 1870, IN RACINE COUNTY

TOWN OR CITY	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION					HEADS OF FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH (Upper, 1860; lower, 1870)												
	1856			1860		United States	England and Scotland	Ireland	Germany	Bavaria	Prussia	Saxony	Mecklenburg	Württemberg	Baden	Nassau	Hanover	Hesse
	Fremont	Buchanan	Majority	Lincoln	Douglas														Majority
Burlington *	152	297	D 145	168	280	D 112	88	48	29	6	8	144	9	7	10	28	2	12
Caledonia	155	177	D 22	242	231	R 11	116	30	37	21	17	192	4	9	6	33	4	17
Dover	135	73	R 62	123	93	R 30	30	82	59	1	...	12	...	1	...	1	...	12
Mount Pleasant	254	49	R 205	301	112	R 188	157	64	30	26	4	12	1	8	2	7	2	6
Norway	91	43	R 48	110	72	R 38	9	12	14	1	9	19	16	7	1	...	...	1
Racine	57	102	D 45	...	...	...	...	8	9	8	...	26	2	13	...	...	...	...
Raymond	185	35	R 150	211	48	R 163	86	52	27	4	5	16	...	1	...	3	...	3
Rochester*	113	74	R 39	125	70	R 55	67	51	24	...	5	36	6	...	2	4	1	4
							85	47	9	11	...	9	...	...	1	...	...	...
							68	47	11	2	...	13	...	6	...	...	...	...

*Village included in 1860 statistics.

CORRELATION BETWEEN ELECTION RETURNS 1856 AND 1860, AND POPULATION ELEMENTS 1860 AND 1870, IN
RACINE COUNTY—Continued

TOWN OR CITY	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION						HEADS OF FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH (Upper, 1860; lower, 1870)											
	1856			1860			United States England and Scotland Ireland Germany Bavaria Prussia Saxony Mecklenburg Württemberg Baden Nassau Hanover Hesse											
	Fremont	Buchanan	Majority	Lincoln	Douglas	Majority												
Waterford*	213	61 R	152	223	101 R	122	136	30	15	5	1	45	2	11	1	6	8	2
Yorkville	122	55 R	67	192	59 R	133	135	26	16	7	1	64	2	18	1	8	3	...
Racine City, 1st ward	170	163 R	7	187	89 R	99	82	133	16	1	2	25	...	...	1	3	...	...
Racine City, 2nd ward	163	89 R	74	168	62 R	103	81	26	23	5	2	8	8	...	1	5	...	1
Racine City, 3rd ward	299	173 R	126	325	150 R	177	83	30	14	2	4	37	8	...	1	11	...	...
Racine City, 4th ward	70	214 D	144	113	199 D	86	156	43	11	9	...	14	...	...	2	1	...	...
Racine City, 5th ward	120	83 R	37	147	90 R	58	179	36	13	...	...	17	...	...	...	...	...	...
Racine City, 6th ward . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	124	93	49	36	5	48	7	...	3	7	...	...
							114	56	32	5	3	76	7	...	8	16	...	2
							43	41	92	31	2	55	16	7	3	10	...	3
							47	38	85	4	3	89	11	...	6	23	...	2
							99	43	29	14	2	20	7	...	6	12	...	1
							102	52	16	5	2	43	2	...	6	9	...	2
							60	44	31	2	...	37	1	...	2	8	...	1

*Village included in 1860 statistics.

CORRELATION BETWEEN ELECTION RETURNS 1856 AND 1860, AND POPULATION ELEMENTS 1860 AND 1870, IN
RACINE COUNTY--Continued

HEADS OF FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH
(Upper, 1860; lower, 1870)

Town or City	Hamburg	Brunswick	Holstein	Bohemia	Luxemburg	Oldenburg	Austria	Holland	Belgium	Scandinavia	Wales	France	Switzerland	Poland	Italy	Spain	Total	Americans, English, Scotch, Welsh, Scandinavians	Irish, Germans, other non-English speak- ing foreigners ex- cept Scandinavians	Unknown
Burlington *	2	2	1	2	1	...	4	1	2	2	4	18	3	...	...	...	432	142	290	...
Caledonia	1	4	2	...	3	1	...	...	1	14	3	...	...	...	539	165	374	...
Dover	95	1	...	1	...	...	...	14	8	2	...	...	...	471	162	309	...
Mount Pleasant	117	...	...	3	2	...	11	14	3	5	1	...	...	520	138	382	...
Norway	1	...	...	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	195	116	79	...
Racine	13	...	...	...	1	...	...	201	132	69	...
Raymond	17	...	...	2	2	...	4	35	3	3	...	...	...	342	260	82	...
Rochester*	2	...	...	1	58	59	2	...	1	...	...	634	326	308	...
	108	...	...	...	...	...	...	187	129	58	...
	110	...	...	...	...	...	...	189	130	59	...

	33	4	5	1	...	...	...	244	175	69	...
	1	2	...	95	...	3	3	...	...	...	304	213	91	...
	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	179	134	45	...
	2	3	...	1	...	...	...	165	120	45	...

*Village included in 1860 statistics.

Town	Total Population	No. of Families	American Heads of Families	No. of Intermarriages	Man American-born	Woman American-born	Man English	Woman English	Man Scotch	Woman Scotch	Man Welsh	Woman Welsh	Man Irish	Woman Irish	Man German	Woman German
KENOSHA COUNTY																
Brighton	1,175	210	26	9	2	7	3	1	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	1
Bristol	1,370	233	170	10	3	7	...	1	...	...	1	...	2	1	1	...
Paris	1,085	181	64	3	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Pleasant Prairie	1,399	233	94	15	6	9	4	4	...	...	2	...	2	1	...	...
Randall	659	117	79	6	4	2	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Salem	1,444	268	163	18	11	7	4	5	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...
Somers	1,277	219	96	14	5	9	5	2	3	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
Wheatland	1,077	203	58	3	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
TOTAL	9,485	1,564	750	75	34	44	20	17	3	1	3	2	10	3	1	3
MILWAUKEE COUNTY																
Franklin	1,773	313	15	11	3	8	2	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	2	...
Granville	2,688	480	82	19	6	13	...	1	...	2	...	...	3	1	9	2
Greenfield	2,490	462	52	17	8	9	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	4	3
Lake	1,993	391	64	14	7	7	2	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	3
Milwaukee	2,574	532	15	11	4	7	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	4	1
Oak Creek	2,240	424	45	19	5	14	3	3	...	...	...	...	2	...	5	1
Wauwatosa	3,209	594	178	20	10	10	3	1	1	1	...	...	4	4	...	1
TOTAL	16,967	3,196	450	111	43	68	12	7	2	3	...	...	21	9	24	11

CENSUS OF 1860—MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN—Continued

Town	Total Population	No. of Families	American Heads of Families	No. of Inter-marriages	Man American-born	Woman American-born	Man English	Woman English	Man Scotch	Woman Scotch	Man Welsh	Woman Welsh	Man Irish	Woman Irish	Man German	Woman German
OZAUKEE COUNTY																
Belgium	2,226	400	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
Cedarburg	2,235	394	3	5	2	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	...
Fredonia	1,776	322	35	10	7	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	2	...	...
Grafton	1,782	340	46	12	4	8	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Mequon	3,368	609	14	7	1	6	3	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Port Washington	2,562	480	95	16	5	11	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
Saukville	1,723	310	26	5	...	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
TOTAL	15,672	2,855	219	57	19	38	10	4	2	...	...	...	11	4	7	4
RACINE COUNTY																
Burlington	1,270	231	34	9	3	6	1	3	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Caledonia	2,438	471	116	17	6	11	5	2	...	...	...	...	2	3	2	1
Dover	1,108	195	30	13	4	9	5	1	2	1	...	...	1	...	1	1
Mount Pleasant	1,819	349	160	27	10	17	9	1	2	2	1	...	3	3	2	1
Norway	961	186	9	4	1	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...
Raymond	1,235	244	85	17	8	9	2	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	...
Rochester	627	118	53	8	2	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Waterford	1,032	184	105	14	7	7	3	2	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...
Yorkville	1,244	235	88	18	6	12	6	2	...	1	...	1	4	2	1	...
TOTAL	11,734	2,213	680	122	47	75	31	16	5	6	1	1	15	11	8	3

TOWN	Man Dutch	Woman Dutch	Man Swiss	Woman Swiss	Man French	Woman French	Man Norwegian	Woman Norwegian	Man Canadian	Woman Canadian	Man Portuguese	Woman Portuguese	Man Polish	Woman Polish	Man Swedish	Woman Swedish	Man Bohemian	Woman Bohemian
KENOSHA COUNTY																		
Brighton	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Bristol
Paris	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pleasant Prairie	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Randall	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Salem	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Somers
Wheatland
TOTAL	6	8	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
MILWAUKEE COUNTY																		
Franklin	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Granville	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Greenfield	1	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lake	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Milwaukee	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oak Creek	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wauwatosa	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	2	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	6	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

CENSUS OF 1860—MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN—Continued

TOWN	Man Dutch	Woman Dutch	Man Swiss	Woman Swiss	Man French	Woman French	Man Norwegian	Woman Norwegian	Man Canadian	Woman Canadian	Man Portuguese	Woman Portuguese	Man Polish	Woman Polish	Man Swedish	Woman Swedish	Man Bohemian	Woman Bohemian
OZAUKEE COUNTY																		
Belgium
Cedarburg
Fredonia	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grafton	1	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mequon	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Port Washington	1	1	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Saukville
TOTAL	1	1	2	..	..	..	5	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
RACINE COUNTY																		
Burlington	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Caledonia	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dover	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mount Pleasant
Norway	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Raymond	1	..	..	..	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rochester
Waterford	1	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Yorkville	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	4	10	9	1	1	1

CENSUS OF 1870---MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN

APPENDIX

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Town	Total Population	No. of Families	American Heads of Families	No. of Intermarriages	Man American-born	Woman American-born	Man English	Woman English	Man Scotch	Woman Scotch	Man Welsh	Woman Welsh	Man Irish	Woman Irish	Man German	Woman German	Man Dutch	Woman Dutch	Man Swiss	Woman Swiss
KENOSHA COUNTY																				
Brighton	1,187	199	19	8	8	8	8	3	...	...	...	...	8	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Bristol	1,140	236	173	13	6	6	1	1	...	...	...	...	4	2	...	...	1	...	...	...
Paris	1,014	180	45	13	1	12	4	...	...	...	1	...	6	1	4	...	1	...	...	...
Pleasant Prairie .	1,377	242	87	25	9	16	6	3	...	1	1	...	2	8	1	1	...	...	...	...
Randall	533	99	53	10	3	7	3	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Salem	1,386	271	146	24	12	12	5	5	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	2	...	...	...	...
Somers	1,357	244	105	19	8	11	5	3	1	3	...	...	1	...	3	...	1	...	...	...
Wheatland	871	160	28	13	2	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	8,865	1,631	656	125	42	83	27	16	1	4	2	...	19	7	26	6	3	...	...	...
MILWAUKEE Co.																				
Franklin	2,092	331	25	10	5	5	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	3	1	...	...	...
Greenville	2,162	461	73	33	2	21	...	...	...	3	...	...	5	1	13	7	1	...	...	...
Greenfield	2,282	445	63	17	6	11	...	1	...	...	...	...	4	2	3	2	...	...	...	...
Lake	2,974	432	60	38	8	30	4	2	...	1	1	...	6	2	11	1	...	...	1	...
Milwaukee	3,096	639	25	25	8	17	2	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	11	5	...	1	...	1
Oak Creek	1,723	294	26	17	5	12	3	2	...	...	...	...	2	1	6	1	...	...	...	...
Wauwatosa	2,871	609	154	32	13	19	4	6	4	...	...	...	4	5	4	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	17,200	3,211	326	172	57	115	14	14	4	4	1	...	24	12	51	19	2	1	1	1

CENSUS OF 1870—MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN—Continued

Town	Total Population	No. of Families	American Heads of Families	No. of Inter-marriages	Man American-born	Woman American-born	Man English	Woman English	Man Scotch	Woman Scotch	Man Welsh	Woman Welsh	Man Irish	Woman Irish	Man German	Woman German	Man Dutch	Woman Dutch	Man Swiss	Woman Swiss
OZAUKEE COUNTY																				
Belgium	1,980	348	7	19	1	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	1	...	...	...	...
Cedarburg	2,555	458	16	27	3	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	15	8	...	...	...	...
Fredonia	1,691	296	12	16	1	15	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	11	...	...	...	...	...
Grafton	1,864	336	19	14	3	11	...	1	...	1	...	...	2	1	6	...	...	...	...	...
Mequon	3,156	569	20	18	1	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	14	1	...	...	...	...
Port Washington	2,392	439	50	15	4	11	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	7	2	...	...	...	1
Saukville	1,931	336	19	15	2	13	2	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	6	1	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	15,569	2,782	143	123	15	108	5	4	...	1	...	...	17	1	75	8	...	...	...	1
RACINE COUNTY																				
Burlington	2,722	539	119	55	19	36	6	8	...	2	...	...	6	2	18	4	...	...	2	...
Caledonia	2,800	520	85	37	13	24	9	3	...	1	...	...	3	2	7	2	1	...	2	...
Dover	1,047	201	41	31	10	21	8	4	3	...	...	...	7	3	...	1	1	...	...	...
Mount Pleasant	3,379	634	184	50	19	31	6	3	5	4	5	2	4	4	8	5	...	...	...	...
Norway	1,040	189	12	5	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Raymond	1,608	304	67	19	5	14	1	2	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
Rochester	876	165	68	11	4	7	4	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Waterford	1,580	314	135	30	9	21	4	4	1	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Yorkville	1,587	302	82	43	8	35	22	4	2	2	4	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	16,639	3,168	793	281	90	191	60	29	12	10	9	3	26	12	48	14	2	...	4	...

CENSUS OF 1870—MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN—Continued

[illegible]

CENSUS OF 1870—MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN—Continued

Town	Man French	Woman French	Man Norwegian	Woman Norwegian	Man Canadian	Woman Canadian	Man Hungarian	Woman Hungarian	Man Austrian	Woman Austrian	Man Swedish	Woman Swedish	Man Bohemian	Woman Bohemian	Man Danish	Woman Danish	Man Belgian	Woman Belgian	Man West Indian	Woman West Indian
OZAUKEE COUNTY																				
Belgium .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Cedarburg .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fredonia .....	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grafton .....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mequon .....	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Port Washington ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Saukville .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	8	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	...
RACINE COUNTY																				
Burlington	2	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Caledonia .....	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dover .....	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mount Pleasant ..	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Norway .....	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Raymond	2	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Rochester .....	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Waterford	2	...	1	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...
Yorkville .....	...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	8	1	1	1	15	15	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	5	3	1	...	...	1	...

Town	Total Population	No. of Families	American Heads of Families	No. of Inter-marriages	Man American-born	Woman American-born	Man English	Woman English	Man Scotch	Woman Scotch	Man Welsh	Woman Welsh	Man Irish	Woman Irish
KENOSHA COUNTY														
Brighton	878	179	104	20	4	16	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bristol	1,168	246	165	17	6	11	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	1
Paris	789	164	88	23	4	19	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pleasant Prairie	2,575	491	228	74	30	44	11	4	1	1	1	1	6	1
Randall	843	158	90	37	15	22	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Salem	1,827	422	248	71	34	37	9	3	2	1	3	2	2	2
Somers	2,192	393	166	51	17	34	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wheatland	869	178	97	20	5	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	11,141	2,231	1,186	313	115	198	36	13	4	2	7	5	9	2
MILWAUKEE COUNTY														
Franklin	1,753	357	187	31	14	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Granville	2,114	538	251	65	18	47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Greenfield	6,348	1,322	544	30	6	24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lake	7,229	1,253	431	37	9	28	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Milwaukee	4,945	994	423	42	18	24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Oak Creek	1,957	359	188	44	20	24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wauwatosa	11,132	2,298	630	11	3	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	35,478	7,121	2,654	280	88	172	6	2	2	1	1	1	1	4

CENSUS OF 1905—MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN—Continued

Town	Total Population	No. of Families	American Heads of Families	No. of Inter-marriages	Man American-born	Woman American-born	Man English	Woman English	Man Scotch	Woman Scotch	Man Welsh	Woman Welsh	Man Irish	Woman Irish
OZAUKEE COUNTY														
Belgium	1,597	282	172	35	2	33	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cedarburg	1,437	306	147	44	8	36	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...
Fredonia	1,633	315	208	40	10	30	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grafton	1,054	186	110	21	6	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mequon	2,732	552	344	64	23	41	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Port Washington	1,192	209	118	31	11	20	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Saukville	1,595	307	184	51	17	34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	11,240	2,157	1,283	286	77	209	1	3	...	1	...	...	1	...
RACINE COUNTY														
Burlington	1,129	214	148	28	8	20	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Caledonia	3,173	613	251	82	29	53	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Dover	862	187	122	22	8	14	4	2	...	...	...	...	1	...
Mount Pleasant	3,592	678	269	98	35	63	8	4	1	1	1	1	3	4
Norway	981	199	84	39	14	25	...	...	1	...	...	...	7	1
Raymond	1,571	344	157	41	7	34	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Rochester	739	183	143	19	5	14	4	2	1	...	...	...	1	...
Waterford	1,572	351	209	48	12	36	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Yorkville	1,084	241	162	24	10	14	2	1	...	2	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	14,703	3,010	1,545	401	128	273	27	11	3	3	1	1	14	9

CENSUS OF 1905—MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN—Continued

Town	Man German	Woman German	Man Dutch	Woman Dutch	Man Swiss	Woman Swiss	Man French	Woman French	Man Norwegian	Woman Norwegian	Man Canadian	Woman Canadian	Man Hungarian	Woman Hungarian	Man Austrian	Woman Austrian	Man Polish	Woman Polish
KENOSHA COUNTY																		
Brighton	6	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bristol	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Paris	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pleasant Prairie ..	17	19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Randall	16	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Salem	15	22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Somers	19	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wheatland	13	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	101	70	4	1	3	1	2	2	3	1	6	10	1	1	1	1	1	1
MILWAUKEE Co.																		
Franklin	16	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Granville	44	16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Greenfield	22	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lake	17	8	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Milwaukee	24	16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Oak Creek	19	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wauwatosa	6	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	148	73	5	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	1

CENSUS OF 1905—MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN—Continued

Town	Man German	Woman German	Man Dutch	Woman Dutch	Man Swiss	Woman Swiss	Man French	Woman French	Man Norwegian	Woman Norwegian	Man Canadian	Woman Canadian	Man Hungarian	Woman Hungarian	Man Austrian	Woman Austrian	Man Polish	Woman Polish
OZAUKEE COUNTY																		
Belgium	33	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cedarburg	34	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fredonia	28	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grafton	15	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mequon	39	21	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Port Washington..	16	8	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
Saukville	32	14	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	197	65	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	3	5	2	...	...	1	1	...	...
RACINE COUNTY																		
Burlington	17	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
Caledonia	27	12	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dover	3	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mount Pleasant..	21	13	2	...	1	...	1	...	5	2	2	3	2	...	...	...	...	...
Norway	13	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Raymond	14	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rochester	5	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Waterford	25	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Yorkville	5	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	180	52	3	1	2	...	1	...	20	14	10	9	2	...	...	1	...	...

CENSUS OF 1905—MARRIAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN WITH FOREIGN-BORN—Continued

TOWN	Man Swedish	Woman Swedish	Man Bohemian	Woman Bohemian	Man Danish	Woman Danish	Man Belgian	Woman Belgian	Man Australian	Woman Australian	Man Russian	Woman Russian	Man East Indian	Woman East Indian
OZAUKEE COUNTY														
Belgium .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cedarburg .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fredonia .....	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grafton .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mequon .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Port Washington..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saukville .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL .....	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
RACINE COUNTY														
Burlington .....	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Caledonia .....	...	...	17	12	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dover .....	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Mount Pleasant..	1	1	...	1	11	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Norway	1	1	2
Raymond	1	12	2
Rochester	4
Waterford	1
Yorkville	6	2
TOTAL	3	2	17	14	39	10	1	1

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